

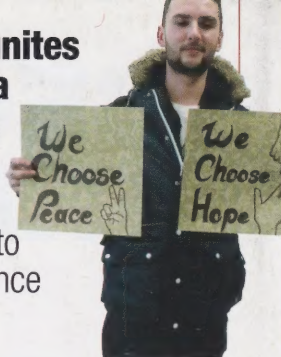
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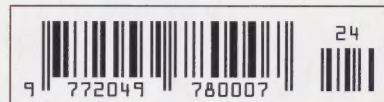
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Providing a
positive antidote to
hate and intolerance

Mar-Apr 2016

Issue no. 24 Price £3.50

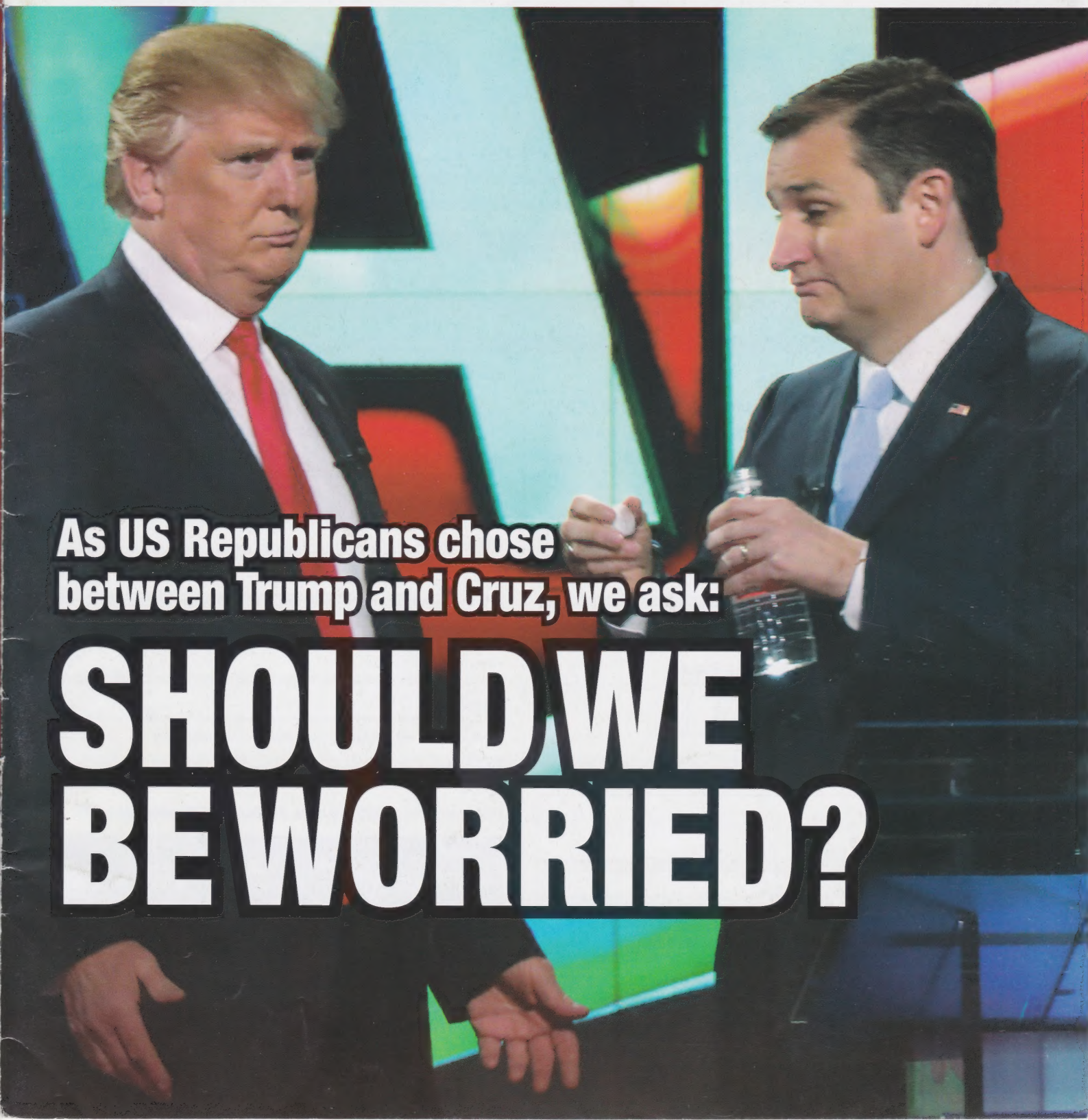


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HOPE not hate

An anti-fascist and
anti-racist publication

March-April 2016

Issue no. 24

ISSN 2049-7806

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Cover image: Republican U.S. presidential
candidate Donald Trump (L) talks with
rival Ted Cruz during the Republican U.S.
presidential candidates debate

HOPE not hate is a bi-monthly
publication providing information on
hate groups and community initiatives
to combat them.

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Nick Lowles

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Labour's antisemitism problem

AS I WRITE THIS, Labour is embroiled in yet another unseemly row about antisemitism.

The party suspended Bradford West MP Naz Shah, over her comments on Facebook in 2014 suggesting that Israel should be moved to America, and a day later it suspended former London Mayor and Labour NEC member Ken Livingstone after claiming Hitler had supported "Zionism... before he went mad and ended up killing six million Jews."

Labour's spat over antisemitism has largely boiled over into the media since the election of Jeremy Corbyn as party leader last summer. While no one has accused him of being personally antisemitic, he has courted controversy by involving himself with anti-Semites, a Holocaust denier and those who support the destruction of Israel.

Since his election, there has been a sorry succession of Labour members and councillors exposed for making antisemitic comments. There is also an investigation underway involving Oxford University Labour Club.

However, while the spotlight is on Labour – and how it deals with Ken Livingstone's outrageous outburst will be crucial – the whole affair highlights a much larger problem of left-wing antisemitism, often masquerading as anti-Zionism, and anti-Jewish attitudes within sections of the Muslim community.

For some, this stems from an ill-educated blurring of the lines between anti-Zionism (and criticism of Israel) and antisemitism. For others, it is sadly quite deliberate and malicious.

Even before this latest controversy erupted, *HOPE not hate* had decided to address the issue of left-wing antisemitism in its forthcoming July/August issue. Rather than simply echoing the growing voices of concern, we wanted to conduct a serious assessment of what left-wing antisemitism is and how it manifests itself in Britain today

and we wanted to attempt to draw clear red lines between acceptable criticism of Israel and antisemitism.

It's time for Labour to show it's serious about understanding the special nature of, and dealing with, antisemitism. And this must go beyond simply disciplining a couple of individuals but addressing an underlying current within the British left.

TORY RACISM

The Tories are clearly revelling in Labour's turmoil over antisemitism but they need to be called up for their own use of the race card. Zac Goldsmith's anti-Muslim campaign has been shocking and Boris Johnson's dismissal of President Obama's alleged anti-British views as stemming from his Kenyan ancestry was plain and simple racism. Fortunately, Obama took it in his stride and publicly slapped down the London Mayor and Tory MP.

GOOD AND BAD NEWS

This issue reports on our recent Fear and HOPE 2016 report. Produced five years after our first Fear and HOPE report, it shows that attitudes in England have changed for the better. Given the emergence of IS, murderous Islamist terrorism in Europe and the refugee crisis, these more positive attitudes are even more remarkable.

However, the report also reveals a small but significant group that is becoming more detached from the rest of society and even more opposed to immigration and a multicultural society. And, as we are seeing with the rise of Donald Trump in the US, this is an international phenomenon.

APOLOGIES

I would like to apologise to our subscribers and readers for the delay in bringing out this edition. Due to our election work, the launch of the *Fear and HOPE* report and our Voter Registration drive in collaboration with Ben & Jerry's, this edition got badly delayed. ●

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THE TERRIBLE TOLL OF EVERYDAY RACISM AGAINST EUROPE'S ROMA

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 150,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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**HOPE
not hate**

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CAS MUDDÉ

Dutch-born, US-based academic Cas Mudde asks whether Donald Trump will transform the right wing in the United States.



JOE MULHALL

HOPE not hate's Joe Mulhall offers a detailed response to Trevor Phillips' Channel Four programme on British Muslims.



TEHMINA KAZI

Tehmina Kazi, director of British Muslims for Secular Democracy, says British Muslims need to tackle sectarian hatred.

The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest

Grassroots Activism in the
English Defence League

JOEL BUSHER

AVAILABLE
FOR REVIEW

If you're interested,
send an email to
politics@routledge.com



A deeply penetrating study of a movement that shatters conventional ideas of left/right and racist/antiracist. Busher's skilled and sensitive ethnography provides new insight into how the EDL created a shared world of anti-Muslim activism, and how this world unraveled in a cycle of resentments, infighting, and skepticism.

Kathleen Blee, Distinguished Professor of Sociology,
University of Pittsburgh, USA

Busher's *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots Activism in the English Defence League* is a masterful piece of story-telling, sewn together with solid theoretical insights into the individual and ecological dynamics that help to explain the rise, fall, and continuity of the EDL. This "boots on the ground" approach allows us to hear clearly how members at once distanced themselves from "racist" identities while nonetheless avowing "racist" sentiments.

Professor Barbara Perry,
University of Ontario Institute of Technology, Canada

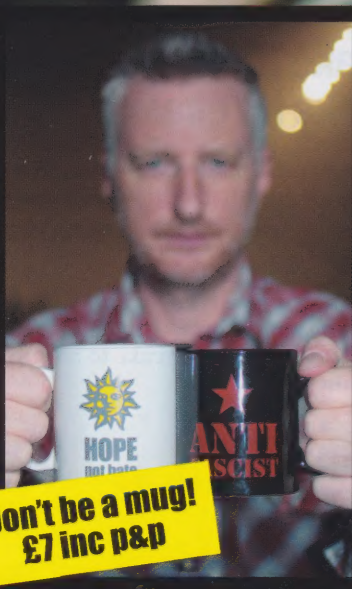
Approachably written and closely observed, this book gets inside the life world of EDL activists – a bunch of people more complicated and varied than commonly imagined. Anyone wishing to understand the complexity and the contradictions at the heart of the English Defence League should read Joel Busher's fascinating book.

Tim Bale, Professor of Politics,
Queen Mary University of London, UK

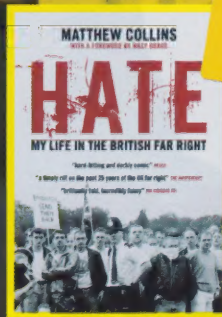
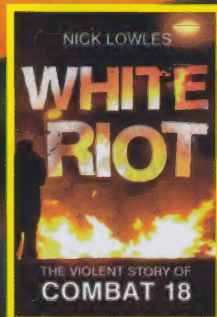
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Assault case against Stephen Lennon dismissed

STEPHEN YAXLEY-Lennon, current leader of Pegida UK and former leader of the English Defence League, has had charges dropped and a court case against him dismissed. Lennon had been accused of assaulting another man at HMP Peterborough in July 2015.

At the time, he was in prison after being recalled for breaching conditions related to his release following a spell inside for mortgage fraud that saw him locked up in January 2014.

Originally prison authorities decided not to pursue any actions over the altercation but he was charged six months later.

Supporters of Lennon raised more than £24,000 to pay for a QC to represent him. The fundraising campaign was supported by the leading "counter-jihad" website Gates of Vienna as well as Jamie Glazov of FrontPage Magazine and Valerie Price of Act for Canada.



Al-Muhajiroun activist charged with assault

MIKA'EL IBRAHIM (formerly Michael Coe) of the Islamist group al-Muhajiroun (AM) has been arrested.

According to the AM-linked Twitter feed @MuslimPrisoners, he was arrested for knocking a man unconscious in front of his girlfriend and for retweeting a post showing a beheading.

Ibrahim is a former gangster who converted while in prison for eight years for threatening police officers with a shotgun while on parole for a knife-point carjacking. He is currently in HMP Belmarsh.



Pegida UK holds tiny demonstration

PEGIDA UK returned to Birmingham in early April for its second demonstration, attracting fewer than 100 people. Speakers at the event included Raheem Kassam of Breitbart London.

The tiny turnout was no doubt a major embarrassment to Stephen Lennon and his fellow Pegida UK leaders, Paul Weston and Anne Marie-Waters, especially considering the leadership of Pegida in Germany had made the trip over for the event.

Lennon announced that his next silent walk would be in Rotherham, South Yorkshire, on 28 May. Pegida UK is clearly trying to exploit the grooming scandal there in an attempt to save itself.

Awat Karkuky released from prison

ACCORDING TO the al-Muhajiroun linked Twitter feed @MuslimPrisoners, Awat Karkuky (real name Awat Wahab Hamasalih) has been freed from prison.

He was arrested as part of a Europe-wide probe into a terror network that involved the arrest of 15 people across the UK, Italy and Norway.

Karkuky, born in the Kurdish region of Iraq, later moved to Birmingham and was an associate of Ansar al-Islam leader Mullah Krekar. He has spoken at rallies and press conferences alongside Anjem Choudary.



Bake Off winner makes cake for queen

NADIYA HUSSAIN, who won BBC TV's Great British Bake Off (GBBO), was asked by Buckingham Palace to make the cake for the Queen's 90th birthday.

The first ever-Muslim winner of GBBO captured the nation's heart when she triumphed in 2015 and has now made a special cake to celebrate the occasion.

Rebuilding Rotherham



By NICK STEVENS

ROTHERHAM IS A TOWN that has been in the news for all the wrong reasons in recent times.

Against this backdrop, as well as growing insecurity around jobs and increased government cuts, HOPE not hate has been working with local partners to establish a strategy for building a united, positive and inclusive community in the town.

As a first step along what may well be a long, and at times challenging path, HOPE not hate gathered people from across Rotherham for a public discussion about change...specifically, what change might look like and how we might be able to work together to bring it about.

Rotherham United Football Club's ground, New York Stadium, was the setting for the event. As sunlight began to stream into the box overlooking the pitch, we initially heard from Mariam Shah and Mike Fitter, both experienced in the arts of conflict negotiation and resolution through their work with the "Who Is Your Neighbour?" project.

Following this, those present were asked to think about three things they primarily wanted to see changed in Rotherham. Three clear themes emerged from the discussion:

- a desire for an increase in positive media coverage of Rotherham
 - a need to engage with and empower the town's young people
 - and the need for a large-scale event to bring people together in celebration
- Following this, the group discussed the resources that might be available to bring about this positive movement in Rotherham.

With plans for the Rotherham Carnival this summer already in full swing, we are looking at other ways in which we can champion the work being done here, and moving ahead.

While we will continue to champion positive themes, we will not lose sight of the scandal of child sexual exploitation in the town or the serious incidents (including a murder) of racist violence.

In this context, we will continue to bring communities together and challenge those who believe that child sexual exploitation or racist violence has any place in Rotherham.

Britain First lies about homeless soldiers

PAUL GOLDING

Putting British People First!



Dear fellow Londoner,
I am not like other politicians. I grew up on a London council estate and have seen my city transformed by mass immigration and political correctness!
British people are treated like second class citizens and I have had enough. I want to see all Londoners put first in their own city.
A vote for any of the others is a wasted vote - things will just carry on the way they always have. It's time to shake things up in London!

P. Golding

My 8 POINT PLAN FOR LONDON:

1. Priority housing for British people
2. British jobs for British workers
3. Get Britain out of the EU superstate
4. Clamp down on Islamic extremism
5. House London's 3,000 homeless veterans
6. Promote British culture and Christianity
7. Halt immigration and the influx of migrants
8. Increase spending on the disabled & elderly

Britain First, the Voice of the Silent Majority!

f Official Britain First
www.britainfirst.org

Paul Golding: Confronting hate preachers & terrorists!

After the murder of Lee Rigby, Paul Golding waged a campaign to "close down" the activities of Islamic extremists in London.

He personally confronted numerous hate preachers and terrorists, including the man who trained the bombers, an Islamist who planned to behead a soldier and the notorious Anjem Choudary.

Paul's ongoing campaign has forced the author clamp down on Islamic extremism in London, the murder of our hero a safer place.

By JAMES RENNIE *

LAST MONTH Britain First published its London manifesto for Paul Golding's Mayoral campaign, setting out his 8-point plan for London.

It was, of course, all nonsense, especially point 5, which includes the promise to "House London's 3,000 homeless veterans".

The "facts" used by Golding for this claim appear to come from a piece on LBC aired on 23 January 2013. The figures cited were wrong then and they are wrong now.

How is this known? Well, the Greater London Assembly commissioned St Mungo's (a major rough sleepers' charity) to manage a reporting and recording system called CHAIN. This system records real time intervention on the capital's streets by outreach workers who engage with those sleeping out, day and night and seven days a week, with supported input from the capital's many homeless day centres. Every intervention is recorded.

In the year 2014-15, the last complete year for which figures are available, London had 7,581 people sleeping rough on its streets. The vast majority (67%) of these spent just one night or (13%) fewer than five nights out.

So, we are talking about roughly

20% of those seen out intermittently or consistently over the year. These figures disguise the fact that the majority of people drift in and out of accommodation, so the number of those permanently living on the streets is relatively small.

The claim that there are 3,000 ex-services personnel homeless on London's streets is simply wrong. The figures available from CHAIN show that only 450 of those sleeping out during the 2014-15 period had an armed forces' background.

This accounts for 6% of the headline figure but it only means those seen out and not those actually living on the streets, as it might be their first and last night out. And of these 450, 299 were people whose forces' experience was for other countries, European and worldwide.

That leaves 151 people with a British forces' background who slept out during 2014/15 and equates to about 20 people with such a background on any single night sleeping rough in London. And, contrary to the misinformation of Britain First, there are actually many, many organisations offering help to former servicemen.

■ James Rennie has worked with people sleeping on the streets in London for 20 years

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: Pegida UK washout, page 32



NETHERLANDS | Pegida struggles for momentum

FROM JEROEN BOSCH FOR ALERT! IN AMSTERDAM

THE ANTI-MUSLIM Pegida organisation, having staged its first demonstration in October 2015 in Utrecht, stepped up its activities and tried to gather in November in Utrecht again (a static rally with 100 people in a park) and then switched its focus to Rotterdam. At the end of November, around 50 demonstrators, among them members of the nazi Nederlandse Volks-Unie (NVU) and Voorpost organisations gathered in Rotterdam, but were not allowed to march.

On 19 December, another 60 racists gathered at a pier in Rotterdam where they listened to a hate speech by the

Vlaams Belang's Philip Dewinter. The public attorney is now looking into the words of Dewinter, who called the Quran "a licence to kill Infidels" and a military manual. In November, the public attorney in Utrecht decided to prosecute Pegida organiser Raffie Chohan for an inflammatory speech in October. On 17 January, Pegida was allowed to march for the first time in Apeldoorn, where it drew between 150 and 200 people. Pegida has announced it will march "somewhere in the Netherlands" every month.

Its planned international hook-up on 6 February, however, turned out a monumental flop.



Pegida in the Netherlands, staged its first demonstration in October 2015 in Utrecht

BELGIUM | Fascist riot wrecks terror commemoration

FROM WIM HAELSTERMAN, AFF-VERZET/RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS

A TEMPORARY "joint venture" by various Belgian football hooligan mobs kicked off a riot in Brussels city centre on 27 March. The hooligans poured into the capital to vent rage at the Islamist terror bombings on 22 March. The bombings in the national airport and in the Brussels subway, together killing 32 people, severely wounding more than a hundred and causing enormous physical and economic damage, plunged the country into shock and prompted maximum security measures.

Days before the riot in front of the Brussels Stock Exchange, hooligans from all over Belgium gathered and signed a pact to freeze mutual enmities temporarily and agree on a demonstration. Some wanted a non-violent protest and an explicit ban on racist and far right slogans but, as it turned out, their demands were rejected.

Eventually some 450 hooligans showed up in Vilvoorde, a suburb of Brussels, where they were allowed

to take the train to the city centre and start an illegal march. The "protesters" expected a warm welcome but that did not happen. Instead of having their five minutes of fame, the demonstrators – all black-clad and many masked – were loudly jeered and booed by bystanders.

The "hyper" atmosphere quickly degenerated into racist abuse, Sieg-heiling and violence by the mob as it became clear that at least a part of the "demonstration" was out for "confrontation" with ethnic minorities in the streets of Brussels.

Seen in the crowd were activists of nazi groups like the Autonome Nationalisten and Nation, the leading far right political group in French-speaking Belgium. Some members of the extremist Vlaams Belang and its satellite organisation Voorpost were also spotted. Several arrests were made. A further far right demonstration planned for 2 April was banned.

SPAIN | Map locates and documents hate crimes in Spain 1990 – 2015

BY SANDRA CORTÉS FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG IN MADRID

JOURNALISTS FROM Valencia and Barcelona have conducted a detailed investigation, case by case, into the eighty-eight recorded lethal hate crimes in Spain between 1990 and 2015, to denounce the apparent impunity of the killers and the weak implementation of existing laws. The journalists' work has drawn Spanish society's attention to hate crimes and the lack of care experienced by victims. Collected data demonstrates that the outcome of half of hate crime cases is unknown, as there is no information, other than recording deaths in the media. Following public demands, including from several NGOs working with hate crimes victims, the government approved

a comprehensive law to guide the police and members of the judiciary.

Spain has only recorded hate crimes officially since 2014. In that year, 1,285 were registered, a figure that, according to Movement Against Intolerance, which has tracked hate crimes independently since 1991, would not reach 10% of the real number. Of the eighty-eight hate crimes resulting in death, crimenesdeodio.info noted that thirty-seven were racially motivated, twenty-three against homeless people, seventeen motivated by criminal intolerance, six by ideological hatred, six involving football violence, two, homophobia, two, transphobia and one, Islamophobia.

GREECE | International Nazi gathering in Athens

FROM PANAYOTE DIMITRAS FOR GREEK HELSINKI MONITOR IN ATHENS

ON 30 JANUARY, the nazi Golden Dawn marked, in Athens, the anniversary of the Imia Islands crisis that brought Greece and Turkey to the brink of war in 1996.

The rally and ensuing march was attended by a delegation from German Third Way (Dritte Weg) and smaller delegations from Greek Cypriot ELAM, National Rebirth of Poland (NOP) – that included its ludicrous "Division Greece" and the British fascist Kevin Layzell – Chelsea "Headhunters" hooligans, Italy's Forza Nuova, the Spanish Democracia Nacional and the Belgian "Nation" as well as some Serbs and Australians



Football hooligans threaten an immigrant with a weapon



The so-called "Academics' Ball", since 2013 officially organised by the FPÖ, is a networking event for the European right wing scene

Előd Novák,
vice-president
of far right
Jobbik

whose affiliation could not be established. The German delegation also held a memorial service at the German military cemetery in Dionysos. On 28 January, the Germans were attacked – five being hospitalised – in an Athens restaurant by Greek anti-fascists.

Golden Dawn marks anniversaries from the post-Second World War Greek Civil War period all the way back to antiquity's mythical Battle of Thermopylae against the Persians, famous for the heroic martyrdom of 300 Spartans, under their king, Leonidas. Foreign nazis are invited by Golden Dawn only in the historically least important of these events, the Imia anniversary.

The reason is that, on 30 January, the nazis, under the guise of Imia, in effect, mark the handover of power to Hitler on 30 January 1933.

SWEDEN | Hooligans and nazis assault migrants

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

AROUND 40 masked hooligans from the Stockholm football teams AIK and Djurgården violently attacked migrants in the city's central station on 29 January. Earlier, the hooligans had given out leaflets with the anti-immigration message: "It is enough now...therefore it is every Swede's duty to defend the public space from imported criminals."

The mob then ran amok against people they claimed were immigrants. The day after, a local politician for the far right Sweden Democrats organised a demonstration in Stockholm. Among the speakers were people connected with the far right and, in the crowd, the football hooligans were welcomed

by a range of nazi organisations, including activists from the Swedish Resistance Movement (SMR) and Nordic Youth.

The violence of the football hooligans has enlivened the far right. The SMR, for instance, has posted anti-migrant "guards" on swimming pools. Along with this trend of fascists acting as "police" in public spaces, they have mobilised to interfere with local community meetings about planned accommodation for asylum seekers. This strategy has fooled some politicians into believing that it is local people's concerns they have been hearing when, in many cases, it is organised campaigning by the far right.

AUSTRIA | FPÖ asks PEGIDA to dance at the palace

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

WHILE FREEDOM Party (FPÖ) chief, Heinz-Christian Strache, harbours deep reservations towards Pegida Austria, he is not shy about currying favour with Pegida Germany's leaders.

In mid-January, Lutz Bachmann, a founder of Pegida, was guest at the FPÖ's annual New Year's gathering in Wels. The gathering received attention because of the notorious German's presence and also Strache's inflammatory speech against refugees, Islam and his description of current Chancellor Werner Fayman as an "enemy of the state" while urging weekly mass protests against the government. Bachmann, delighted at the event, eagerly posted to his followers afterwards: "Learning from

HC [Strache] and the FPÖ means learning how to win!"

Days later, the emerging relationship between Pegida Germany and the FPÖ deepened when Pegida spokeswoman, Tatjana Festerling, appeared at the annual far right ball in the Hofburg Palace. The so-called "Academics' Ball", since 2013 officially organised by the FPÖ, is a networking event for the European right wing scene and, despite declining popularity, it still draws as many as 1,000 revellers. Its declining popularity is partly due to the anti-fascist protest demonstrations that, since 2008, have mobilised thousands of people. This year, at least 8,000 people took to Vienna's streets in protest at the ball.

HUNGARY | Jobbik proposes military training to defend Hungary

FROM ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

ON 27 JANUARY, Előd Novák, vice-president of far right Jobbik, told a press conference in Budapest that his party has begun consultations with leaders of the Hungarian Army about the low number of reservists. Novák considers it inadmissible that the number of volunteer operational reservists under 45 years is now fewer than 800 and urged introduction of voluntary basic military training for all men aged between 18 and 65. He reported that two-thirds of professional soldier recruits are unfit to serve. Gergely Kulcsár, a Jobbik MP, also raised the development of the armed forces, increasing defence capabilities, participation in foreign military

missions and the establishment of a border guard with the Army chiefs.

Jobbik's demands follow the ruling Fidesz party's legislative package which seeks to mobilise the army domestically, among other measures, in the case of a terrorist threat. The Hungarian people are not only afraid of terrorists, however, but also of premier Viktor Orbán's "craze for power", Ádám Mirkóczki, Jobbik's spokesperson declare. Fidesz's anti-terrorism proposals need a two-thirds majority in parliament, making it dependent on the votes of the opposition, including Jobbik, the Socialists, the Greens (LMP and PM) and the Együtt (Together).

■ For the latest international news visit <http://hopenothate.org.uk/news/world/> or scan the QR code right >>

■ Must Sweden plunge downhill? page 36



USA | Rabid right tries to set election agenda

BY CENTRE FOR NEW COMMUNITY STAFF IN CHICAGO

IN JANUARY, thousands of Iowans were greeted by the voice of a prominent white nationalist urging them to support a nativist agenda. "We don't need Muslims," declared Jared Taylor, founder of the New Century Foundation. "We need smart, well-educated white people who will assimilate to our culture. Vote [Donald] Trump", he continued.

After months of television debates and wall-to-wall media coverage, voters finally began casting ballots in primary elections on 1 February and while white nationalists like Taylor may operate on the fringe, this latest stunt exemplifies a resurgence and growing sense of relevance among their ranks. Indeed, white nationalists have not shown so much enthusiasm in a presidential race since the 1990s.

More troubling, the white nationalist agenda aligns with much of the toxic political rhetoric we have already heard this election season. This has included assertions that Mexico sends "the bad ones" and "rapists" to the United States and calls to ban Muslims from entering the country. As the race drags on to November, Americans will need to decide if they will reject divisive nativist rhetoric and hold the US's elected leaders – and those striving to be among them – to a higher standard.

SERBIA | Revision of history for Serbian Quisling

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ IN NOVI SAD

AFTER SUCCESSFUL campaigns by historical revisionists to whitewash the reputations of Serbian Nazi collaborators, a final blow is about to be landed by the Serbian Supreme Court in the case of Milan Nedic. Nedic was puppet prime minister of the Nazi-appointed provisional government in occupied Serbia during 1941-44. Until now, nobody, except the most national socialist elements of the Serbian far right, has suggested he should be rehabilitated.

Using the example of Draza Mihailovic, the leader of government-in-exile-backed nationalist Chetniks, whose 1946 trial was proclaimed void by a Serbian court recently, far right groups and Nedic's descendants are asking for his rehabilitation and the return of many of his properties seized by the, then, socialist state, after the war. Nedic never faced trial, opting to jump out of his prison window and kill himself.

This is, to date, the most extreme case of historical revisionism and anti-fascism in Serbia, since the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia. Anti-fascists and Jewish unions of the victims of fascism are protesting, still not believing that the disgusting rehabilitation of such a notorious fascist will actually happen.

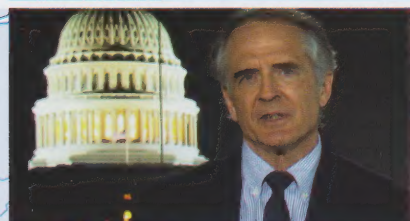
BULGARIA | ATAKA ramps up tension with Turkey

DANA IONESCU REPORTS FROM SOFIA

IN MID-JANUARY, during this year's first sitting of the Bulgarian parliament, Volen Siderov, leader of the far right Ataka party, called for a vote on renegotiation of Bulgaria's diplomatic relations with Turkey. The leader of a party well known for its anti-Muslim and anti-Turkish minority rhetoric, Siderov called what he perceived "[Turkish] interference in our home affairs" unacceptable and demanded that the Turkish government recall its ambassador from Sofia.

Critics blasted Siderov's intervention as yet another attempt to force his nationalist party with dwindling support into the limelight. In fact, only days after his speech, the Bulgarian prosecutor's office charged Siderov and fellow party member Desislav Chukolov with hooliganism and inflicting light injuries on two police officers. The charges come after their attack on an alcohol and tobacco store in Sofia in October 2015.

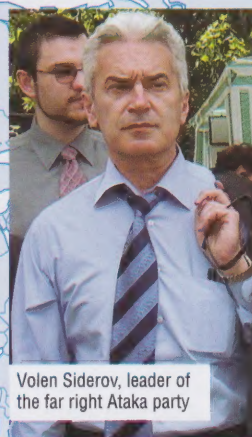
A month later, the two MPs were also involved in two other incidents in which they stormed the National Academy for Theatre and Film Arts. If convicted of hooliganism, they face imprisonment of up to five years, while the second charge carries a penalty of up to three years in prison.



Jared Taylor



Cliven Bundy



Volen Siderov, leader of the far right Ataka party

USA | Militia siege in Oregon turns deadly

BY STEPHEN PIGGOTT, SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTRE, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

TWENTY MONTHS ago in Bunkerville, Nevada, Bureau of Land Management officials and police turned to seize cattle owned by Cliven Bundy, due to Bundy's failure to pay more than \$1 million in grazing fees for his cattle ranging on public land.

Bundy had previously put out a rallying cry to anti-government "Patriots" to help defend him from the government and they heeded his call resulting in an armed standoff that would turn into a bloodbath if law

enforcement had not chosen to exercise restraint.

The Bunkerville events invigorated the anti-federal government movement in the U.S. and similar acts of defiance by these bogus patriots have taken place in many states. On 2 January, Bundy's two sons, Ammon and Ryan, led an armed occupation of a remote U.S. wildlife site in rural Oregon.

The siege duly received massive media coverage, with the Bundy sons and other anti-government leaders

promising reporters they were willing to die to defend themselves against "government tyranny".

The siege turned violent on 26 January, when police shot dead the group's spokesman as he appeared to reach for a gun at a traffic stop on a remote road. Bundy's sons and other militia leaders were also arrested at the location and most others left the wildlife refuge afterwards. The four protesters who remained were arrested on 11 February after 41 days of lawlessness.

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INSPIRAL CARPETS AND MANY, MANY MORE.

Candidates court anti-Muslim activists

Joe Mulhall on why choosing a candidate for President, non-racist Republicans now find themselves between a rock and a hard place

WHEN ASKED LAST MONTH who he consults on matters of foreign policy, Donald Trump said: 'I'm speaking with myself, No. 1, because I have a very good brain and I've said a lot of things.'

Since then, his "very good brain" has buckled under increasing media pressure for solid details about his advisory team. He has revealed a few names and unsurprisingly, several among the list of obscure and unqualified advisors have a history of anti-Muslim comments and links to hate groups.

One of his worrying appointments is Walid Phares, a former Senior Fellow of the neo-conservative-aligned think tank, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD).

Phares was named in the Centre for American Progress report *Fear, Inc.* as one of the "validators" that comprise the Islamophobia network in America. Despite Fox news reporter Brian Kilmeade recently (and incorrectly) stating that Phares is a Muslim, he is actually a Maronite Christian who was once a "top political of official" for the mostly Christian Lebanese Front.

More recently Phares has promoted conspiratorial ideas regarding mainstream Muslim groups secretly being radical Islamist cells, stating: "jihadists within the West pose as civil rights advocates" and patiently recruit until "[a]lmost all mosques, educational centers, and

socioeconomic institutions fall into their hands."

Like Trump, Phares is not shy of using scare tactics when it comes to Islam and Muslims. In 2008 he stated that in the next four years: "Jihadists may recruit one million suicide bombers" and that by 2016, they would have 10 million.

A 2011 report *Manufacturing the Muslim Menace* claimed: "Phares is often very cautious in his characterization of Muslims, [yet] on the whole, his narrative distorts the nature of Islam, misstates the role of the overwhelming majority of Muslim Americans, and reinforces cultural stereotyping of Arabs and Islam."

While he is personally cautious about what he says he is less concerned with the company he keeps. In 2010, Phares joined the infamous counter-jihad activist Robert Spencer – banned from the UK for his anti-Muslim extremism – and Brigitte Gabriel, the president of the anti-Muslim hate group ACT! for America, to discuss "Radical Islam: How and Why It Threatens America".

Phares also has links to the notorious anti-Muslim group the Centre for Security Policy (CSP), run by Frank J Gaffney. Not only has Phares appeared on Gaffney's radio show numerous times but he has also spoken at events organised by the Centre.

Gaffney, an ex-Cold War enthusiast, is a prominent American "counter-jihad"

activist who hit the headlines recently because of his supposedly strong influence on Donald Trump's openly racist comments about Muslims. Trump got his dodgy statistics on Muslim attitudes from Gaffney's discredited research.

Likewise, Trump's comments about Muslims creating no-go zones in the US and the UK also appear to have originated from Gaffney, while he has also been credited as the figure behind the idea of state and federal anti-Sharia laws.

Gaffney's anti-Muslim paranoia borders on the ludicrous, for example claiming that President Obama is a Muslim, that Huma Abedin – Hillary Clinton's aide – is a secret Muslim Brotherhood agent and that Saddam Hussein was behind the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.

Unsurprisingly, Phares is not alone in Trump's advisory team in having links to leading anti-Muslim activists and groups. Another, Joseph Schmitz, is also linked to the CSP for whom he has written a number of articles and was a contributor to its conspiratorial report *Sharia: The Threat to America*.

Schmitz also sits on the Advisory Board of the American Freedom Law Centre (AFLC), which is run by the highly controversial figure David Yerushalmi. The Anti-Defamation League described Yerushalmi as "an Arizona attorney with a record of anti-Muslim, anti-

immigrant and anti-black bigotry" while the Southern Poverty Law Centre described him as an "anti-Muslim activist who is a leading proponent of the idea that the United States is threatened by the imposition of Muslim religious law".

Schmitz seems to disagree with both the SPLC and the ADL stating:

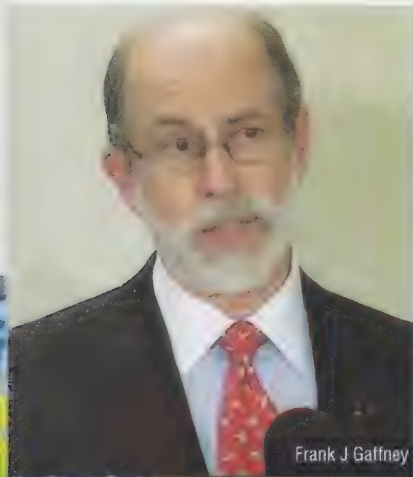
As they fight for our faith and freedoms, Robert Muise and David Yerushalmi of the American Freedom Law Center embody the American spirit of teamwork, integrity, and commitment to excellence. Indeed, their passion for preserving our nation's values is an everyday reminder that there is still hope for America.

Clearly, like Trump himself, several of his appointed advisors mix in the world of anti-Muslim bigotry.

Worryingly those Americans looking for a Republican alternative to Trump have only Ted Cruz. Trump's only real competitor for the Republican nomination, Cruz has joined him in taking a hard line on Muslims to attract votes.

In the wake of the shocking terrorist attacks in Belgium Cruz called for law enforcement to specifically target Muslim neighborhoods, thereby completely blurring the lines between the majority of normal Muslims and extremist Islamists.

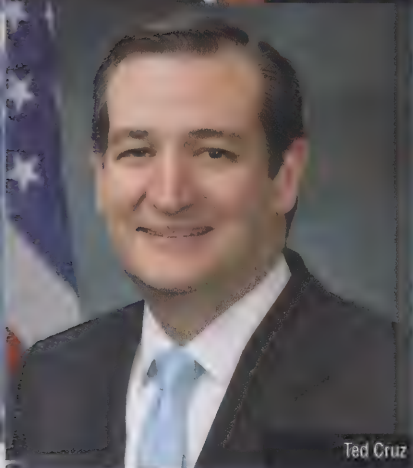
Like Trump, Cruz has also just announced his advisory team and to the dismay



Frank J Gaffney



Joseph Schmitz



Ted Cruz

of many he appointed the notorious anti-Muslim activist Frank 'Obama is a Muslim' Gaffney as a foreign policy advisor.

Things in America are getting very scary. Both Republican candidates have openly attacked Muslims during their campaign and both have appointed advisory teams that include people active within the anti-Muslim counter-jihad milieu.

When it comes to choosing a candidate for President, non-racist Republicans now find themselves between a rock and a hard place. ●

Tough questions for Quilliam



Stephen Lennon announces his resignation from the EDL alongside Quilliam's Maajid Nawaz in October 2013

THE GROWING prominence of leading anti-Muslim activists in the political arena in the US poses serious questions for Quilliam, the London-based anti-extremist group led by Haris Rafiq and Maajid Nawaz.

Quilliam boasts of being against all extremism but there are a number of worrying links between the organisation and some of the people supporting the Republican Presidential nominees.

Ted Cruz's campaign chairman is Chad Sweet, the former chief of staff in the US Department of Homeland Security under Secretary Michael Chertoff. He was, until switching his focus to Cruz, on the Quilliam's US board of Directors. He was previously a CIA official in the Directorate of Operations.

Cruz's links with anti-Muslim activists has clearly not bothered Sweet. In fact, in the same year he became a Quilliam Director, Sweet set up Ted Cruz for Senate, which oversaw his 2012 election to the US Senate.

In addition to his Quilliam duties, Sweet co-chaired the right wing Heritage Foundation's National Security Law Working Group.

Nor it seems, were Quilliam concerned with the rightwing views of Sweet's boss, Ted Cruz. During the period he was a Quilliam Director, Cruz criticised a Republican primary opponent for attending a gay pride parade and declared his life-long admiration for the late senator Jesse Helms, a bigot who advocated continued racial segregation, rejected the Civil Rights Act as "the single most dangerous piece of legislation ever introduced," dismissed the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill as "the University of Negroes and Communists," and described gay people as "weak, morally sick wretches."

"We need 100 more like Jesse Helms,"

Cruz told his audience at the Heritage Foundation.

Quilliam's Maajid Nawaz was very critical of HOPE not hate including Dr Zuhdi Jasser in our recent report into the self-defined Counter-Jihad movement, claiming that he was just a reforming Muslim.

However, this reforming Muslim was quick to jump to Ted Cruz's defence when the Presidential candidate suggested that US authorities should begin 'monitoring' Muslim neighbourhoods.

Jasser's twitter account suggests he supports Cruz more generally. This should not really be a surprise though, as Jasser is closely connected to many of America's leading anti-Muslim activists, despite being a Muslim himself.

He sits on the Advisory Board of the Clarion Project along with Frank Gaffney, who is publicly acting as a foreign policy advisor for Cruz, and is a Consulting Editor of Family Security Matters along with Gaffney and Clifford Kincaid, who is on the Editorial Board of Pamela Geller's Stop Islamization of America.

Quilliam has remained remarkably silent over the outpouring of anti-Muslim hatred from the US Presidential candidates and it does pose the question as to its relationship with a few people in the US counter-jihad movement.

In December 2015, Quilliam researcher Usama Hasan was a founding signatory to a statement by the Muslim Reform Movement written by Jasser and launched on the Gatestone Institute website. This is despite the Gatestone Institute citing Peder Jensen (aka Fjordman), whose writings heavily influenced Norwegian mass killer Anders Breivik, as one of its scholars, and carrying articles by Robert Spencer and hosting the Dutch far right politician Geert Wilders.

Authoritarian personalities and attitudes: What moves support for Donald Trump?

By Joe Mulhall

JUST MONTHS AGO, the merest notion of Donald Trump being President of the United States, leader of the free world and the man with his finger on the red button, seemed so ridiculous that it was almost amusing.

However, the joke is no longer funny as, to the amazement of many, he has become front-runner for the Republican nomination and stands a chance of

becoming president.

How is it that a candidate that has been so openly racist against Muslims and Mexicans, regularly contradictory on a catalogue of issues and virtually proposed the abolition of the First Amendment and condoned war crimes on "live" television ("You have to take out their families" he said of ISIS) is currently so successful?



Will Donald Trump Transform the (Far) Right in the US?

By Cas Mudde

MID-MARCH saw another "Super Tuesday" and, just like the previous one, two weeks earlier, all the attention was on Donald Trump, the big winner in the camp of Republican Party – aka the Grand Old Party (GOP). There is no longer any doubt that Trump is serious about his presidential run and that he will win the most votes in the GOP primaries.

Even more importantly, he will have the most delegates for the GOP convention that will make the final decision on who the official party candidate for the 2016 presidential elections will be.

While it is almost certain that Trump will win a majority of primaries and caucuses and a plurality of delegates, Texas Senator Ted Cruz may well secure enough delegates to keep Trump from a majority. This will mean that no candidate will get the nomination in the first vote, after which the delegates are no longer bound to "their" candidate. And here the so-called "brokered

convention," which the GOP desperately tries to rebrand as an "open convention" – to make it sound less elitist and more democratic – comes into play.

It is no secret that the vast majority of the GOP establishment despises Trump and believes that he will ruin the party. However, no one likes Cruz either who is held responsible for the unpopular government shutdown of 2013.

Given that the eventual nominee does not have to be one of the 17 candidates who started the primaries, the names of other GOP heavyweights, including House Speaker Paul Ryan and failed 2012 presidential candidate Mitt Romney, have been rumoured as possible options.

It is clear that Trump has the GOP elite in a chokehold and its masses in a spell. Whether he will get the nomination or not, Trump has defined the 2016 presidential race in more ways than one.

First of all, he has set the tone and the issues of the campaign. Trump mainly talks about three things: himself

(good), all other politicians (bad), and all "outsiders" (very bad). He has called Mexican immigrants "rapists" and referred to Syrian refugees as "snakes." He brings thousands of people into a frenzy at his sold-out rallies, which are increasingly meetings of intimidation and (verbal) violence.

Trump has openly encouraged this, for example when he said of an African American Black Lives Matter activist, who disrupted one of his rallies: "maybe he should have been roughed up."

He even asked his supporters to raise their hand and pledge allegiance to him, providing even more fuel to accusations that he is a fascist.

While Trump lacks the ideological coherence and organisational structure of fascism, his unabashed nativism and explicit intimidation of critics and support for violence are unprecedented in recent US history.

In fact, it even sets him apart from most serious populist radical right-wing

Explanations vary with people pointing to anger at the political establishment, his rejection of Political Correctness, the decades of neglect experienced by the white working class and the mediocre calibre of his opposition, *inter alia*.

However, the former human rights lawyer-turned journalist Amanda Taub has offered a fascinating insight in an extended article for *Vox* magazine assessing the impact of authoritarianism in Trump's worrying and meteoric ascent.

She cites the research of a group of political scientists and psychologists who do not study dictators but rather the psychological profile of people are drawn to them. In essence, people with an authoritarian tendency turn towards "strongman" leaders to prevent the changes that they feel threatened them.

Of course such theories are nothing new. In 1950, the radical German philosopher Theodor Adorno wrote *The Authoritarian Personality*, offering the illuminating yet flawed "F scale" ("F" for fascist) as a personality test that measured authoritarian tendencies.

The field of authoritarian studies has further advanced with works such as Karen Stenner's 2005 book, *The Authoritarian Dynamic*. Stenner points

to an "authoritarian predisposition" and "conditions of normative threat" which together make up what she refers to as the "authoritarian dynamic".

Simplified this means that those who have a personality tendency towards authoritarianism react to threats, fear and social destabilisation by calling for autocracy or even fascist-style policies like shutting borders and persecution of those they perceive as morally deviant.

Supposedly, many who have this "authoritarian personality" are latent authoritarians just requiring a trigger or something that can activate this side of their personality.

The question is: can such theories explain the unexpected rise of Trump? Taub certainly believes so and cites the research of Matthew MacWilliams whose polling found a strong correlation between support for Trump and an alleged authoritarian disposition. This is not surprising as there is no doubt Trump fits the bill of being a strongman demagogue who would appeal to such a mindset.

"Fear" drives support for Trump, but his support is only partly limited by the extent of that fear. Thus, for those seeking to oppose him, it is necessary to explore, understand, analyse and address the causes of that fear.

Strip away the academic jargon and what this means is that Trump stokes up and then exploits fear: fear of supposed external threats and fear of social change. He seeks out the most extreme and hysterical voices in the mob and then articulates and amplifies them.

Laughing at and ridiculing his supporters for being ignorant and stupid may make the liberal elites on the coast – and across Europe – feel better but it will only serve to heighten the grievance, widespread across American society, that very real fears are being ignored.

While he receives support from across the social landscape, the bulk of it is drawn from the white working class. As HOPE not hate's recent *Fear and Hope* report shows, economic uncertainty breeds intolerance and economic status is a key driver for determining fears, especially of demographic change.

Dealing with the economic concerns of the American white working class, reengaging it in the political process and most importantly listening to its concerns, will reduce the levels of fear and thus the likelihood of support flowing to authoritarians like Trump.

While the correlation between authoritarian attitudes and support for Trump is worrying, it also offers his opponents the keys to oppose him. ●

politicians in Europe, such as Marine Le Pen or Geert Wilders, despite the fact that they have expressed support for Trump and rightly see him as a kindred spirit.

Trump has also revived the US white nationalist subculture from the dead. Most American racists have embraced the billionaire real estate mogul on social media and several have attended his rallies or are actively campaigning on his behalf (though without his explicit approval).

Whether Trump gets the nomination or not, he is destined to fail in the presidential elections. While he is by far the most liked candidate within the Republican field, he is also the most disliked, both within the Republican field and among all voters. No presidential candidate has such high unfavourability ratings, not even Hillary Clinton who, for many Republicans, is the anti-Christ.

So, if Trump is nominated, many moderate Republicans will either not vote or vote for the Democratic candidate. Alternatively, when he is kept from the nomination by a brokered convention, Trump will either run as a third candidate or will tell his supporters not to vote at all.

Either way, the GOP will lose the 2016 presidential elections and will blame Trump.

But Trump is a symptom of broader GOP problems rather than the cause of them. The primaries have exposed a huge gap between the party establishment and the party supporters, who have shown no interest in establishment candidates like Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio. In fact, almost two-thirds of Republicans support either Trump or Cruz, both far right candidates.

While Trump is more similar to the populist radical right in Europe, although more elitist than populist – virtue resides in The Donald, not the people – Cruz is a more typical American phenomenon, combining small government and Constitutional extremism with theocratic sentiments – for example, he holds the Bible above the Constitution. His views are more similar to some small fundamentalist Protestant groups in Europe, like the Politically Reformed Party (SGP) in the Netherlands or factions of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in Northern Ireland.

So, what will Trump's political legacy be? Given that he is a one-man circus, who has not shown any interest in building a more permanent organisation, he will probably leave little institutional legacy within the GOP or outside it. Once he loses the nomination or the presidential election, he will

disappear from politics, and so will the "Trump Movement."

But other GOP politicians will be inspired by his success, particularly in the (Deep) South, where Trump has destroyed his competitors. They will continue the nativist "Southern Strategy" at the state and local levels, even if the national GOP will probably try to move away from it and adopt a more inclusive strategy that targets, in particular, religious Hispanic voters.

His main legacy will be outside the GOP. As said, the marginal and splintered white nationalist subculture has been rejuvenated by the Trump phenomenon, experiencing a growth in interest and membership. While this will not lead to the formation of a serious political movement, let alone a party, it could further boost the radicalisation of far right groups, from white nationalists to anti-government "sovereign citizens" (such as the ones involved in the recent Oregon stand-off), and with it the danger for more violence.

This is even more so if Trump is stopped by the GOP elite (brokered convention), instead of by the American people (presidential elections) as it could provide the (violent) US far right with its own *Dolchstoss Legende* ("Stab in the Back myth"). ●

Fear and Hope 2016



new hopes, old fears

Five years ago HOPE not hate launched a pioneering report investigating the new politics of identity in Britain. Much has happened since then says report co-author Nick Lowles

THE FAR RIGHT political party, the British National Party (BNP) has collapsed. The UK Independence Party (UKIP) has surged to prominence. Immigration to Britain has continued at record levels, despite the election of a government pledged to reducing it. The rise of Isis and terror incidents in Woolwich, Paris, Brussels and elsewhere have kept Islamic extremism in the headlines. A referendum on Scottish independence prompted new conversations about the future of the united Kingdom north and south of Hadrian's Wall. A second referendum in June of this year will once again bring a debate on Britain's role and identity, this time centred on Britain's relationship with the European Union. Rarely in British history have questions of identity been so central to political discussion. The biggest controversies in British politics today often hinge on who we are, how we are changing as a nation and where we want to go.

Our 2011 report revealed a nation fundamentally split into six "tribes" with very different outlooks and attachments. Two tribes – *confident multiculturals* and *mainstream liberals* – were positive about the effects of migration and social change, and hopeful about Britain's future. But they were a minority, less than a quarter

of the sample. At the other end of the spectrum were two other tribes – *latent hostiles* and *active enmity* – with deep seated fears about the impact of rapid social change, fears which often translated into active hostility, including (for a minority) support for the use of violence against groups perceived as a threat. The far right BNP drew much of its energy and support from these tribes, which constituted a significant minority segment of around a quarter of the population.

Between the hopeful and the fearful lay the majority, in two "tribes" wrestling with conflicting views about identity, social change and the state of Britain. *Immigrant ambivalents* were insecure working class voters who worried about the impact of immigration on their communities and their economic circumstances. The *culturally concerned* were better off, but troubled by the impact immigration was having on British national identity and worried about immigrant integration.

Five years on, English attitudes have shifted in a more optimistic direction, which is perhaps surprising given the events of recent years. Respondents to the new *Fear and HOPE 2016* survey were much more positive about personal and national progress, more economically secure, and

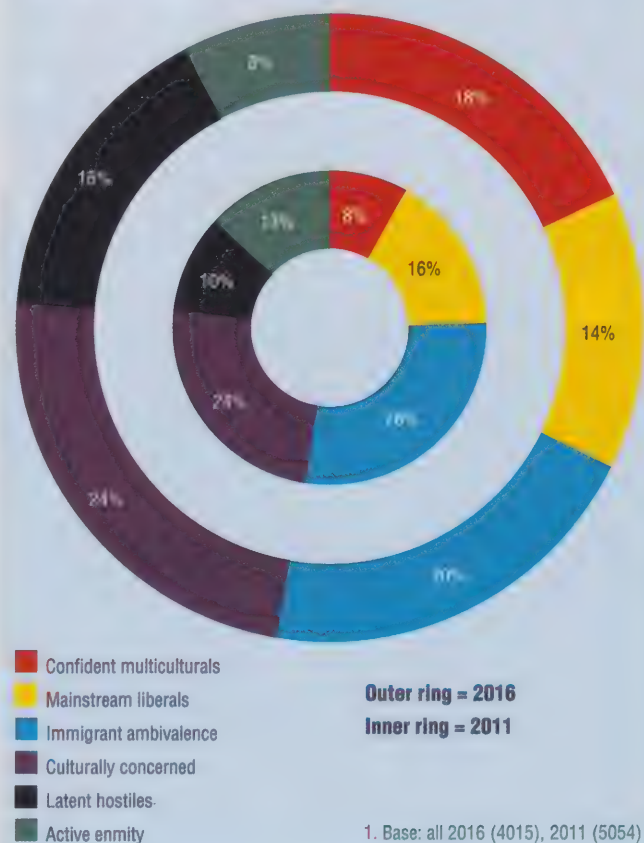
less anxious about identity change. They were also more positive about the impact of immigration, more comfortable with multiculturalism and more supportive of action against racial and religious hate speech.

This improvement in the national mood has also shifted the balance of power between the "tribes".

The *liberal/multicultural* tribes have grown, while the *immigrant ambivalents* (who see immigration and identity through the lens of economic security) and the *active enmity* group (totally hostile to immigration and disaffected from politics) have shrunk.

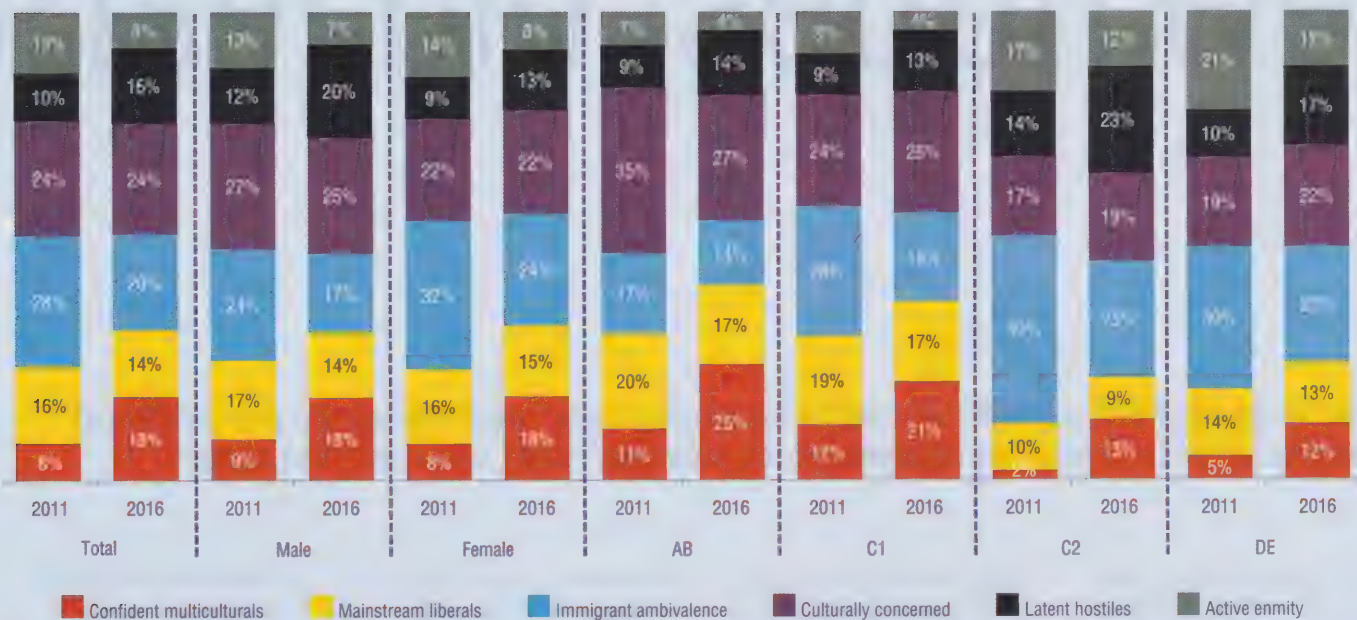
Even attitudes to Islam as a religion and Muslims in this country have

English population by segment



Gender and SEG by segment

1. Q.1 Gender. Base: all 2016 (4015), 2011 (5054)
2. Q.9 Socio-economic grade. Base all 2016 (4015), 2011 (5054)



improved. Whilst there is still a deep cultural gulf, the overwhelming majority of English people believe it is wrong to stigmatise a whole religious group for the

actions of an extremist few. Old fears remain, but these too have moderated. The combined size of the two "hostile" tribes is almost the same in 2016 (24%) as

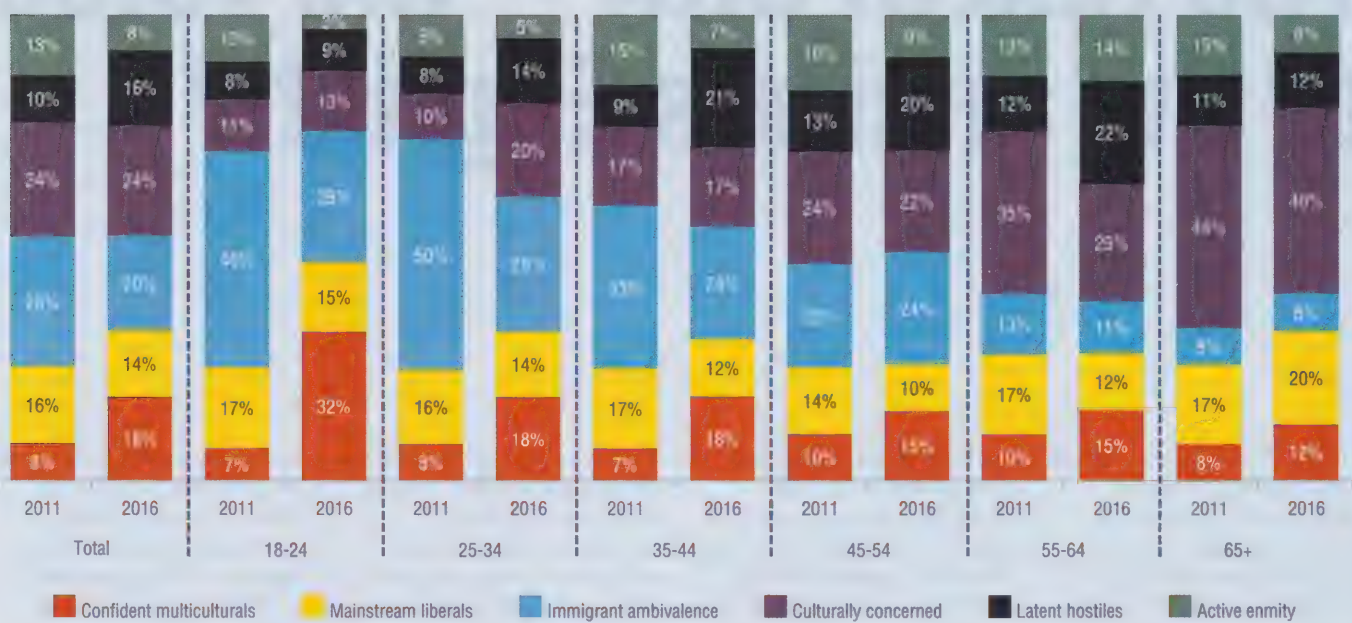
in 2011 (23%). But the most hostile tribe – *active enmity* – a group which opposes everything about migration and multiculturalism, and will often consider violence

as a means of expressing its opposition – has fallen away. Meanwhile the *latent hostile* group, which has similarly intense concerns but is much less keen on



Age by segment

1. Q2. Age. Base: all 2016 (4015), 2011 (5054)



confrontation, has grown. Pessimism and anxiety remains widespread in the segments of British society where these tribes dominate, but those who

hold such concerns are more willing now to look to traditional politics for solutions.

Our 2011 report, which is evident again now, found a

clear correlation between economic pessimism and fear and hate.

The political expression of English identity has also been transformed over the past five years. The greater willingness of the tribes opposed to migration and social change to engage with politics is, in part, a reflection of the growing political prominence of UKIP, a party which gives voice to such concerns, and whose support base is dominated by members of the two "hostile" tribes.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the liberal and multicultural "tribes" now dominate Labour's support base, due both to their own growth and to the departure of more anxious groups from the Labour electoral coalition. The balance of identity liberals and conservatives in the Conservative party is now much more even, too, presenting difficult challenges for the party of government as it decides policy on contentious identity issues.

The most immediate challenge is the coming referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (EU), where identity

politics divisions will play a central role. The *anxious/hostile* tribes, which combine strong opposition to immigration, pessimism about cultural change and assertive English nationalism, gravitate towards the "leave" campaign. Their views look set to clash with those of *liberal/multicultural* groups, which combine a cosmopolitan worldview with pro-migration attitudes and optimism about the future, and already line up quite strongly behind the "remain" campaign.

However, much is still up for grabs in the "swing" identity segments: *culturally concerned* voters who oppose the EU as a source of migrants, but support it as a source of economic and social stability; and *immigration ambivalent* voters who have few firm views about the EU but a political outlook defined by economic anxiety. Two very different visions of England will clash in the EU referendum campaign, which may be the first of many political contests structured, in part, by the competing identity and values of voters at opposite poles of the identity politics spectrum. ●



■ The Fear and Hope 2016 report can be ordered online at www.fearandhope.org.uk/

The rise of UKIP – the voice of the anxious English?

THE MOST significant political development in England since our 2011 survey has been the surge in support for UKIP. In our first survey, UKIP averaged around two to three percent in most opinion polls, and was largely regarded by mainstream politicians as an eccentric minority.

Five years later, the party routinely wins the support of 15% or more of the English electorate in opinion polls and elections (including the 2015 general election), has hundreds of local councillors and a Westminster MP. How does the biggest change in English political preferences for a generation relate to identity politics?

UKIP support has a very clear profile in identity terms. Virtually none of the party's voters come from the confident multicultural or mainstream liberal segments – these make up 32% of the overall sample, but only five percent of UKIP supporters. The immigration ambivalence segment is also under-represented in UKIP. Despite this group's concerns about immigration, a core UKIP theme, only 11% are UKIP voters (though 20% of overall respondents to the survey fall into this segment).

The vast majority of UKIP support comes instead from the identity segments that express either strong

anxiety or outright hostility to immigration and cultural change: the culturally concerned, latent hostiles and active enmity segments. What particularly sets UKIP apart from all the mainstream parties is its strong support from the latter two segments: the groups with the greatest anxiety about their own group identity, the greatest opposition to cultural change, and the greatest hostility to minority groups.

While much has been written about the role of immigration and political disaffection as drivers of UKIP support, our analysis points to something deeper: UKIP has mobilised a very distinct form of identity politics among the English.

As a result, it can be considered, at least in part, a political voice for the anxious English who regard the rapid cultural change of recent decades as a threat to be opposed.

UKIP's supporters are drawn from a clearly defined part of the identity politics spectrum and hold distinctive views on most of the issues asked about in our survey, as the tables illustrate. They are pessimists across the board: pessimistic about themselves, about the country, about British values and about social change.

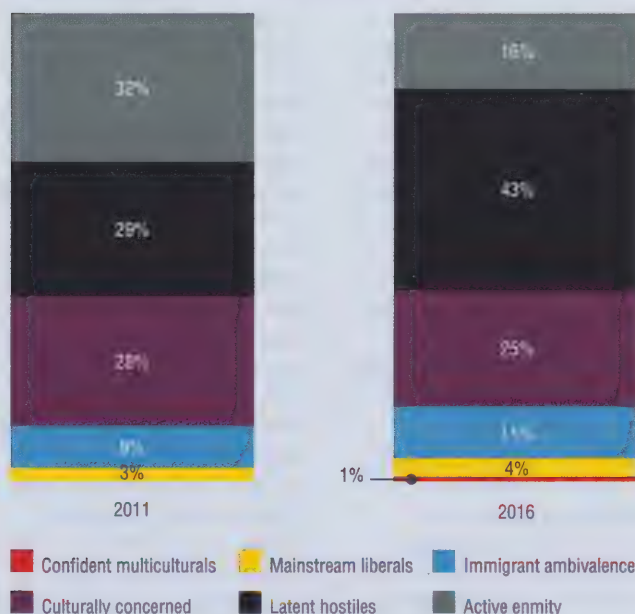
They are deeply worried about immigration, with nearly 90% regarding it as bad for the country as a whole, though the portion who see it as harmful to their local community is

somewhat lower (57%). UKIP voters worry in particular about the cultural effects of immigration and rising diversity. A large proportion of UKIP voters believe immigrants do not want to integrate, that some people are just too different to "fit in" and that diversity is undermining British culture.

Muslims are a particular focus of concern for these people: 80% believe Muslims create problems in the UK, and 53% believe Islam is a dangerous religion which incites violence. UKIP supporters are willing to act on such anxieties: 65% would join a campaign to prevent the building of a mosque in their local area, and 59% would side with English nationalists in any confrontation with Muslim extremists.

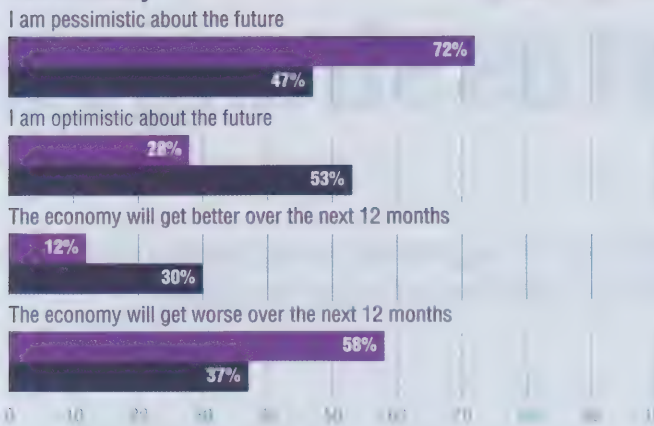
A quite distinct form of English nationalism – defensive, anxious and potentially confrontational – is prominent among UKIP supporters. However, UKIP is probably a more benign and constructive political outlet for this kind of nationalism than other recent expressions such as the British National Party or the England Defence League. UKIP's rise to prominence also does not seem to have stoked up general tensions on immigration and identity issues: in fact, attitudes are more positive and less polarised on many of the most contentious issues in our survey in 2016 than they were in 2011, before UKIP's rise.

UKIP – Political affiliation by segment

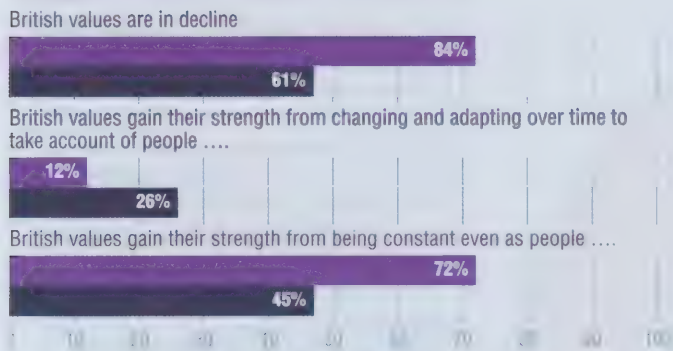


1. Q361. Which of the following political parties do you most identify yourself with, even if you don't identify with any of them entirely? Base: all 2016 (4015), 2011 (5054)

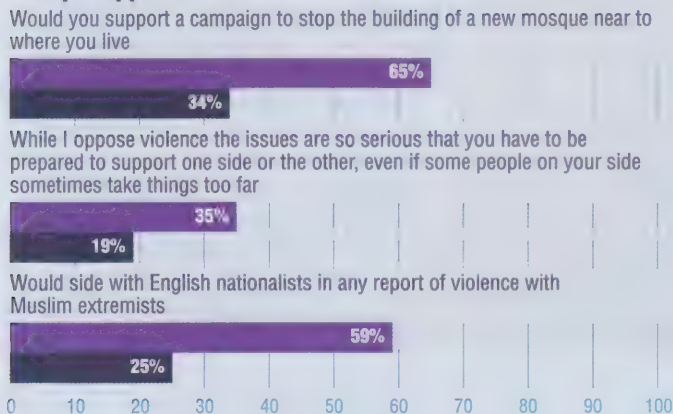
The Economy



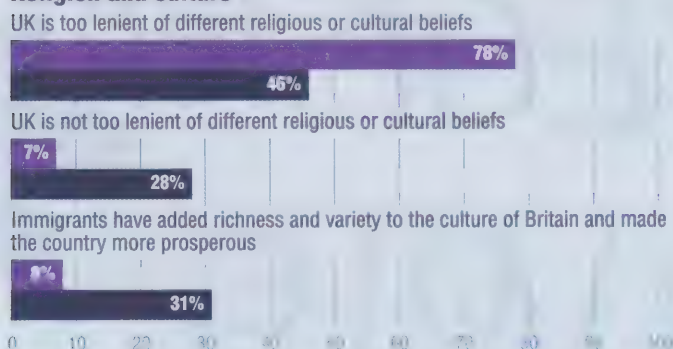
Values



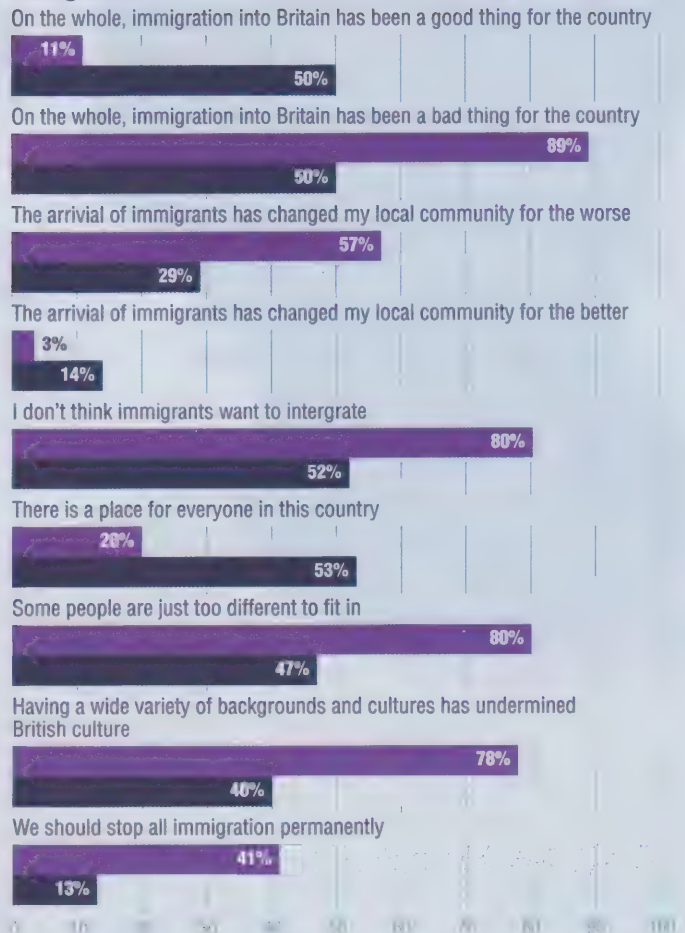
Mosque application and violence



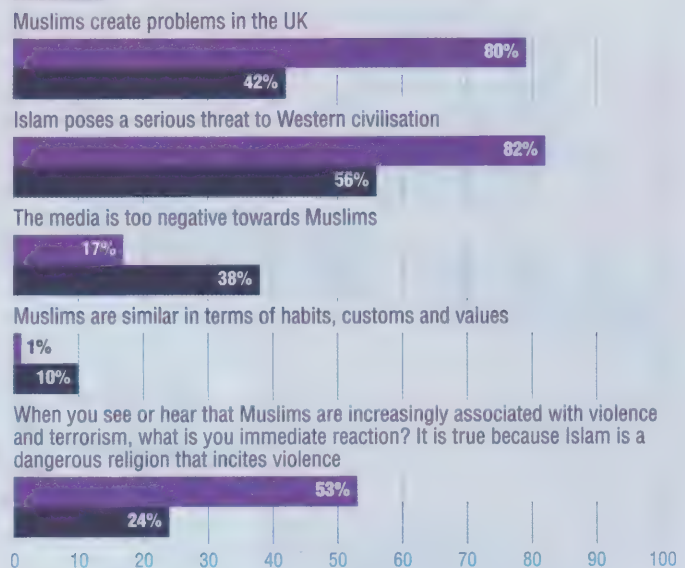
Religion and culture



Immigration



Muslims



HOPE & ice

Not as strange as


Elisabeth Pop on registering young London voters and why her waistline is feeling the pinch

WHAT DO ICE CREAM and the ballot box have to do with one another? Quite a lot it turns out and certainly if you were a student in London over the past few weeks.

If you were, then you might have seen a Ben & Jerry's ice cream vehicle parked up outside your college or university, or on the streets of Brixton, Hackney and Tottenham, with a bunch of cheery, yellow-shirted HOPE not hate activists steering you towards free ice cream.

But it was not just ice cream for ice cream's sake (though at HOPE not hate we like ice cream as much as anyone else!) – everyone receiving a free scoop was also helped to register to vote or, if registered already, then invited and provided with information to help others to do so.

The brainchild of our chief executive Nick Lowles, the "Don't Get Frozen Out" campaign was a voter registration (VR) campaign aimed primarily at young Londoners, who have dropped off the electoral register in alarming numbers over the past year.



#REGISTER
TO VOTE

cream? it sounds...

Disappearing voters

As early as 2014, the Electoral Commission warned that 7.5 million people across the UK could be missing from the electoral register. Among these was one in five Londoners.

These problems were worsened by the Government's decision to bring forward, by a full year, the full transition to a new form of electoral registration (called Individual Electoral Registration).

Everyone now had to individually register himself or herself, using a National Insurance number. In theory, this was a good idea. It could prevent fraud, for example, but the suddenness of the switch, against the advice of experts, meant that many young people (renters, students, some in minority communities) suddenly found themselves frozen out of the democratic process.

Universities could no longer mass-register students living in halls of accommodation, and those who rented or moved around were more likely to be missed on the new registers.

By January 2016, this had had an effect: 330,000 people (a city the size of Nottingham) were now missing from London's electoral register. Inside London, Hackney lost one in five of its voters, as well as 70% of its "attainers" (16 & 17-year-olds who could register to vote when they turned 18)

Elsewhere in the UK, Cambridge lost one in five voters and other cities and towns all experienced drops. These were our "missing voters" – people who should have been able to vote, but were not.

Voting is the lifeblood of any democracy. When people feel they have no stake or part in the system, then that is bad for us all.



Giving a Fudge

With seven elections taking place across the UK on 5 May, we decided to act.

Joining with cutting-edge ice cream makers Ben & Jerry's – whose founders are well known for their passionate belief in good causes (they were recently arrested in Washington after opposing big money in the US Presidential elections) – we launched Don't Get Frozen Out in mid-March, a voter registration campaign for London ... with an ice cream twist.

The first phase of the campaign unveiled the research pollsters YouGov. Ben & Jerry's then rebranded one of its popular flavours as "Give a Fudge" (geddit?), before we headed out on tour with ice cream and our VR teams, ready to sign up young voters. Our target? Register 5,000 people and get the issue of voter registration – often seen as dry and dull by both political parties and the media – talked about.

Hitting the road

We hit the road at London Metropolitan University on 16 March and four weeks later we'd done a whirlwind (and exhausting) tour of 10 universities, 25 colleges, visited the Greater London outreaches and hosted four major voter-registration street events (across Brixton, Hackney and Tottenham) with BBC London TV, the *Evening Standard* and social media all following our progress.

We had rainy days and sunny ones, trying to get the ice cream van through narrow college gates or beating the nightmare that is London's traffic to make it in time from one event to another. But we managed to bring a smile to many faces and get the issues talked about.

We broke through our 5,000 registration target, got scores more people involved in running "democracy parties" to register others, and had more than 15,000 conversations on the VR issue alone. On social media, we reached hundreds of thousands of young Londoners with targeted music videos, encouraging them to register.

Oh – and we also gave out a heap of ice cream, of course (our waistlines are feeling the pinch...).

Next steps

The work is not finished. We are working with Ben & Jerry's to get the new Mayor to commit to VR as a primary issue facing London in the future.

We want more funding for electoral registration officers, working groups established to share best practice, an up-to-date and accurate register, as well as a solid pledge that the Mayor will put his weight behind VR. Because London is nothing if not the young who are its lifeblood and future, every voice should matter.





A Response to Trevor Phillips and the Channel 4 Polling of British Muslims

Joe Mulhall

Anyone interested in social inclusion, integration and equality should welcome the ICM poll of British Muslims that hit the headlines in April and was included in Trevor Phillips' Channel 4 programme *What British Muslims Really Think?*

Any firm data that can offer insight into people's attitudes, problems and beliefs provides an opportunity to identify things that are working in Britain today and to face up, analyse and address the issues.

That is not to say that this ICM poll is perfect. Legitimate methodological queries have been raised as to how representative it is. Firstly, only 44% of those polled were actually born in Britain, which may have been a contributing factor in some of the more conservative findings.

More troubling is that the poll was conducted only in areas where Muslims make up more than 20% of the population, meaning it covered just 51% of the British Muslim community. It thus disproportionately relied on the views of those of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin, often from severely economically deprived areas.

There were also a number of questions worded in a way that may have skewed the results. One asked whether the participant thought "Jews *still* talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust." [My emphasis]. The use of "still" suggests that, at some point in the past, Jews have indeed talked "too much" about the Holocaust. Badly worded questions like this may have made it more likely for participants to agree...as well as being deeply offensive to Jews.

There is no doubt that some of the responses, especially concerning women, LGBT rights and antisemitism, are deeply worrying and to ignore them would be irresponsible. Any evidence of prejudice and discrimination has to be taken seriously. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of those polled agreed that "wives should always obey their husbands" while 31% thought it was acceptable for a British Muslim man to have more than one wife. Shockingly, just 66% were

willing to completely condemn those who took part in stoning adulterers. When asked about gay rights just 18% of those polled believed homosexuality should be legal while 52% disagreed. Forty-seven percent (47%) thought it unacceptable for a gay person to become a teacher.

The answers about Jews in the UK were particularly worrying, with evidence of many traditional antisemitic myths about Jewish power and influence. Thirty-five per cent of those surveyed thought Jews have too much power in Britain while 31% thought the same about their power over government and 39% on the media. Pretending these figures are not worrying would be as disingenuous as it would be counter-productive.

Clearly work has to be done to challenge such attitudes within the many Muslim communities of Britain. Sweeping them under the carpet would be wrong. No matter what one's

religious, cultural or ethnic background, prejudice can never be excused.

However, these negative findings are by no means the whole picture. Despite the analysis of this data offered by Trevor Phillips in his documentary and media appearances, the poll actually paints a pluralistic picture of British Muslim attitudes. Listening to the commentary in some of the press – and from Mr Phillips himself – one would not believe it but there were some positives in this poll.

Eighty-six percent (86%) of British Muslims feel a strong sense of belonging in Britain, which is higher than the national average (83%). Furthermore, 88% of those questioned said Britain was a good place for Muslims to live. This at the very least challenges the oft-repeated refrain: "If *they* hate it here so much why don't *they* go live somewhere else?" it seems "they" don't hate it here. Far from it, in fact.

One of the main thrusts of Trevor



Trevor Phillips' (right) negative analysis of the data is the unwillingness of British Muslims to integrate. He talks of a 'nation within a nation'. Yet as is the case with much of his commentary on this matter the actual findings offer a far more nuanced picture than the one he paints

Phillips' negative analysis of the data is the unwillingness of British Muslims to integrate. He talks of a 'nation within a nation'. Yet, as is the case with much of his commentary on this matter, the actual findings offer a far more layered picture than the one he paints.

Seventy-eight per cent said they would like to integrate with non-Muslims "in all aspects of life" or "on most things". Among the young (aged 18-24) over half opted for complete integration in all aspects of life. When broken down by region rather than age, there is more positive news. All (100%) Muslims in the north-east and 93% in the east Midlands surveyed opted for full integration in all aspects of life or integration on most things.

It is not just on integration that Trevor Phillips seems to have allowed his predispositions to get in the way of evidence. One of the statistics that has unsurprisingly attracted much attention is that a small minority – 4% – had

sympathy with "suicide bombing to fight injustice". Just 1% had "complete sympathy".

During his documentary while discussing this statistic Phillips said: *"Britain's political elite, both left and right, have preferred to believe that only a very small number of Britain's Muslims sympathise with Islamist terrorism. The survey suggests otherwise."*

Note that the question about suicide bombing asks about the use of such a tactic to "fight injustice" and did not specifically talk about Islamist terrorism. In fact the words Islamism or Islamist do not appear in the full report even once.

Also, as noted above, only 1% had 'complete sympathy' with such a murderous tactic. While that is certainly 1% too many, it is clearly an extremely marginal view within the British Muslim community, something one would not have guessed from Phillips' comments. Distortions such as this make it necessary to separate the actual polling data from the analysis offered by Phillips.

Phillips and much of the right-wing press that welcomed and applauded his various comments have reduced a nuanced and varied community (something that is actually shown in the data) to a single monolithic and homogenous block. Odious commentators like Katie Hopkins have then taken up and run with this nonsense to present all Muslims as barbaric and backward.

All too often, in fact, people talk of "Muslims" or the "British Muslim community" as though it is a single group. In reality, like most communities, it is varied and diverse – a community of communities – with large differences depending on denominations/branches of the faith, the density of Muslims in the community in which one lives, educational backgrounds, class and generational differences, how long a family has lived in Britain, cultural background (South-East Asian/African/Middle Eastern) and so on.

To say "Muslims believe this"



or "Muslims believe that" is an oversimplification. It is also important not to view British Muslim communities solely through their specific religious identity. People have multifaceted identities that include class, economics, gender, sexuality, nationality, geographic location, interests, hobbies and countless other aspects. To reduce Muslims to their religious identity paradoxically mimics the position of Islamists and others, who claim to speak for the *ummah* (the "global community" of Muslims).

As always, people will take from this poll what they want. James Delingpole, writing in *The Spectator*, claimed the findings show that "large numbers of Muslims don't want to integrate, that their views aren't remotely enlightened, and that more than a few of them sympathise with terrorism."

If one picks and chooses selectively, it is easy to find evidence to confirm one's existing prejudices.

Alternatively, we can use this new information in a more positive and constructive way. Rejecting these findings because some of them are uncomfortable would be folly, not least because it plays directly into the hands of those who seek to exploit them maliciously.

It is much better, surely, to identify important problems and to develop an informed and educated approach to dealing with them.



The best legacy we can leave Asad Shah is to take sectarian hate crime seriously

By Tehmina Kazi

“GOOD FRIDAY and a very Happy Easter, especially to my beloved Christian nation.” These were the last words of Glaswegian newsagent Asad Shah on his Facebook page, posted on March 24, 2016.

Just hours later, this hugely popular man, an Ahmadi Muslim, was brutally attacked. Found outside his shop with multiple injuries, he later died in hospital.

The suspect is alleged to have stabbed Mr Shah multiple times, and stamped on his head. A 32-year-old man was arrested in connection with Mr Shah's death, and police are investigating the possibility that the suspect may have travelled 200 miles from Bradford in a pre-meditated attack.

Police in Scotland are also still working to ascertain a motive; the only thing they are sure of is that this is a “religiously motivated” murder.

This is probably because Ahmadi Muslims are regarded as heretics because they do not believe in the finality of Prophethood since Muhammad's death. They are persecuted in Pakistan and are regarded as heretics by many Sunni and, even, some Shia Muslims.

It is unbearable to think that someone who reached out to others, no matter what

their background, has been extinguished by a mindset that was the antithesis of everything he stood for.

Mr Shah was one of those newsagents who would go the extra mile for every customer. Not only did he remember everyone's names but he would send people Christmas cards or Eid cards, depending on their religion. He took an interest in people's lives, be they young, old, black, brown or white.

Two vigils were organised for him – one with 500 people, including Nicola Sturgeon, in attendance – in a testament to how loved he was. At the time of writing, a fundraising page on GoFundMe has raised over £80,000 for Mr Shah's family.



His widow described him as “a kind man who was always smiling.” Together with Mr Shah's siblings, she paid tribute to him on condition of anonymity, since the threat of reprisals is all too real.

One would expect UK Muslim organisations – particularly those that choose “Islamophobia” as their main rallying call – to be up in arms about such a murder. However, to date, there has been no statement from MEND or MPACUK.

Glasgow Central Mosque put out a long statement, which decried the murder as “abhorrent and unacceptable” and said it would “stand

shoulder to shoulder with all communities to eradicate this intolerance from society.”

However, this statement appeared to gloss over Whatsapp messages recently posted by their most senior imam, Maulana Habib Ur

 *When theological authorities take it upon themselves to decide who is and is not a Muslim (as opposed to respecting how groups and individuals define themselves), it is crystal clear that this leads to serious breaches of equality and human rights standards.* 

Rahman. Referring to the Pakistani Government's execution of Mumtaz Qadri – who had killed anti-blasphemy law campaigner Salman Taseer in 2011 – Rahman said: “I cannot hide my pain today. A true Muslim was punished for doing which [sic] the collective will of the

nation failed to carry out.”

It is difficult to see how this message has been “taken out of context,” as the mosque alleged, inferring that the imam was talking about due process, and how this had, presumably, been lacking in the Mumtaz Qadri/Salmaan Taseer case.

Even if we accept this explanation, it totally misses the point. The treatment of minorities, whether in Pakistan or the UK, is a matter of principle over process. If a group expects to be taken seriously in its attempts to bring communities together, it must abandon supremacist ideologies insofar as they discriminate against others, or lead to hate crimes against others. South of the border, The Muslim Council of Britain has condemned the killing, adding that “there is no place for hatred of this kind.”

While this sounds encouraging at first, their own initiatives have not been as inclusive of different sects as one would hope. In 2014, they announced a “Historic Intrafaith Unity Statement” which solicited signatures from various Muslim groups, in an attempt to forge common ground. But as the blogger John Sargeant pointed out, Ahmadi Muslims – both Lahoris and the larger Rabwah branch – were conspicuous by their absence.



Furthermore, Muslim media outlets like 5 Pillars (that claim to be promoting “normative” Islam) previously described the Ahmadi Baitul Futuh mosque in Morden as a “temple,” when it was engulfed in flames during a suspected arson attack in September 2015. The site’s Deputy Editor, Dilly Hussain, tweeted in 2014: “I’ve known monkeys that have a more legitimate claim to Islam than Ahmadis.”

Last month, Tell MAMA reported that a group of Sunni Muslims in Scunthorpe had opposed the establishment of an Ahmadi mosque there.

In a showdown that was caught on camera, the word “temple” was again used to describe the mosque, and one individual suggested that

Ahmadis may have come from a “banana republic.”

At least this mosque was eventually accepted by Scunthorpe Council. An application for a similar building in Walsall – which I had written about in December 2009 – was denied after 800 complaints from Sunni Muslims.

Most disturbingly of all, Khatme Nabuwat, an anti-Ahmadi group with an office in London, has congratulated Muslims on the killing of Asad Shah.

When theological authorities take it upon themselves to decide who is and is not a Muslim (as opposed to respecting how groups and individuals define themselves), it is crystal clear that this leads to serious

breaches of equality and human rights standards.

What I would really like to see is a statement, from groups like the MCB, that unequivocally and unambiguously defends the right of Ahmadis to refer to themselves as Muslims. I would also like to see religious leaders from *both* sects express a more positive approach to Sunni-Ahmadi marriages, which are – anecdotally – still discouraged.

The term “moderate Muslim” is essentially meaningless when there is so little in the way of positive and pro-active action over

these major fault lines.

Of course, wider society has had its own issues with sectarianism, most notably in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. But the difference is that there has been a widespread and concerted effort to address this, both in terms of cross-community social action from religious and non-religious groups, and the full force of the law (where appropriate).

The best legacy we can leave Asad Shah is to take sectarian hate crime as seriously as far right attacks on Muslims, and to follow in his footsteps of spreading goodwill to all. ●

■ Tehmina Kazi is director of British Muslims for Secular Democracy <http://bmisd.org.uk>

Further far right flop in Liverpool

THE FAR right returned to Liverpool in February and, as in last August, was met with fierce resistance.

This time, the North West Infidels (NWI), the small but hardline criminal gang that has been attached to the Nazi National Front for the past two years, led the demonstration.

Billed as an anti-Islam demonstration, it was originally called for Manchester, a place where the far right has little difficulty organising demonstrations and activities. The demonstration was given extra gravitas as the far right was still reorganising after their disastrous outing in Dover a month earlier.

In line with this, Polish football hooligans were also invited to join the demonstration, the NWI's leader Shane Calvert promising the Poles a clash with anti-fascists.

However, at only a day's notice, NWI switched the demonstration to Liverpool. Clearly, this had been their plan all along – a pathetic attempt to stop anti-fascists

organising against them – allowing the NWI and other groups, including the South East Alliance and North East Infidels, to go to Liverpool and prove to other fascist groups that NWI can organise wherever they want.

The end product was fewer than one hundred nazis pinned on the steps of Liverpool's St George's Hall by hundreds

of angry local people and another group of nazis trapped in a nearby pub by local people and antifascists.

As with the far right's last trip to Liverpool, they were visibly shaken by the ferocity of the demonstration against them. Shortly after the demonstration began (but failed to actually move from the steps of St George's Hall), forty Polish



NWI junks allies

By Matthew Collins

SINCE ITS INCEPTION and formation, HOPE not hate has always described the so-called Infidels as violent and tawdry racist drug gang.

Its founder, John "Snowy" Shaw, was a former crack dealer and addict (as well as an animal abuser) and the group is led in the northeast by a convicted cocaine dealer. In the north west of England, a whole network has emerged – around Shane "Diddyman" Calvert – that is little more than a collection of the very worst of the UK's criminal and social underclass.

For the past two years, Calvert has been a central figure on the far right but, in reality, he is a diminutive, unhealthy-looking weakling with a history of violence against women and of inciting others to carry out his dirty deeds. Although his gang is relatively small in far right terms it has been able to provide foot soldiers prepared to travel the length and breadth of the country for a fight and confrontation.

After a very brief and disastrous dalliance with Nick Griffin's attempt to be re-elected as an MEP in the region, the North West Infidels (NWI) has attached itself to the Nazi National Front (NF), sharing billing on a number of

demonstrations around the country and providing fuel for the party's socialising.

The NWI's ability to organise and move people around the country has meant they have always been on the frontline of any demonstration and, after two years attached to the NF, the group called an embarrassingly small demonstration of its own in Preston in October 2015.

Calvert, the NWI's leader, took the opportunity to press the flesh with a number of senior far right figures also in town on the day for the annual John Tyndall memorial meeting and although his own rally was tiny (only sixty people present), it was pleasing for Calvert that it was exceptionally violent and aggressive.

Now it appears that the relationship with the NF is moving from cool to cold as the NF's new leadership seems keener to keep the drug-dealing gang away from its electoral ambitions. Calvert has also opened a relationship with the teen Nazi gang National Action, with whom the NF has always had a fraught relationship.

On the eve of January's riot in Dover, HOPE not hate revealed that a senior member of National Action was a

convicted sex offender, having been convicted of abusing a teenage boy. As a result of this, the NF refused to drive two NA members to Dover and banned NA members from attending any NF activities.

In response, NWI members have targeted the National Front's Kevin and Debbie McMahon for abuse after McMahon posted our story on the NF's Facebook page and demanded the NF and NWI break all ties with National Action. As McMahon came under a shower of abuse, the NF's Darren Lumb drove from his home in Leeds to Scarborough to threaten two party members whom he felt had been disloyal to the NF.

This has now spilled into more threats and violence and the McMahons' were visited by the police in mid-March and warned that the police were aware of threats against them by persons "unknown." It is believed the NWI and National Action were preparing to invade the McMahons' smallholding on the outskirts of Manchester.

Also in March, the NWI's Michael Kearns, who had also been active in the NF, was sentenced to five years in prison for drug dealing, further infuriating the NF which has been tarred with the same brush. As we went to press, another member of the NWI/NF is under police investigation for their role in the death of a young woman who bought drugs from one of the gang.

football hooligans announced their arrival in printed hooded jumpers by setting off flares and pushing their way through police lines.

There then followed a two hour long stand-off between the police, fascists and anti-fascists, but the Poles distinguished themselves somewhat by their readiness to use violence against the police, leaving many hardened British fascists bystanders as they launched themselves at the police.

Penned in for two hours, members of National Action distinguished themselves further for childish behaviour by drawing swastikas on a memorial to Liverpool's war dead.

Eventually Merseyside police moved the humiliated fascists out of the city by putting them on a train to Manchester that they promptly vandalised leaving themselves stranded for another hour.

In all, thirty-four people were arrested, thirty-one believed to be Polish nationals.



The Beast is back



"The Beast" Will Browning, made a dramatic return to the streets

WILL BROWNING, the leader of Combat 18, made a surprise and dramatic return to the streets at the end of January when he attended a fascist anti-refugee demonstration in Dover.

Browning has not been on a public demonstration since the mid-1990s and has hardly made any public appearances in the UK since former C18 boss Charlie sargent was imprisoned for murdering one of

Browning's friends in 1998.

That is not to say that Browning has not been active, because he has, but merely that he has opted to keep below the radar. Most of Browning's time now is spent on the continent and he remains in charge of the C18 network which, reportedly, still operates in 15 countries. He is also still heavily involved in the music scene and, in recent years, has expanded out into black and death

metal and into the supposedly non-political "Oi" scene.

Browning was accompanied in Dover by some other C18 supporters and they marched alongside a group of British Movement veterans from south London and Kent.

They were also involved in some of the violence but because of the on-going police investigations we cannot say more at this time.

Comeback walkabout washout

Matthew Collins

It was a low key comeback for Stephen Lennon as the founder and former leader of the English Defence League (EDL) led a (mainly) silent walk on the outskirts of Birmingham to an empty industrial estate not far from the city's airport.

Lennon was re-launching Pegida UK, having wrested the organisation out of the control of the group's original founders who first launched it in this country in February 2015.

The walk drew almost as many observers as it did participants. Six years ago, with almost exactly the same anti-Muslim message, Lennon had led thousands of noisy and angry, overwhelmingly white, mainly males, on destructive forays into multicultural city centres and into clashes with police, local people and anti-fascists.

It was after all, how he made his name and, in his own words, the only difference between Pegida UK and the EDL would be the name of the organisation on the banners.

Older now, and with the experience of being locked in prison cells for activities not always directly linked to his political beliefs behind him, Lennon went to Birmingham in the guise of a reformed

statesman. The bottles of vodka that had previously accompanied his outings as head of the EDL were nowhere to be seen. Despite the pouring rain, he supped on bottled water and he adjusted his previously near-permanent grimace to a weak smile.

Earlier, regarding his own political respray, relaunch and repackaging, Lennon had casually forecast that thousands would eventually join him on his bimonthly walks and tirades against Muslims.

His hopes are that the little acorn he has bought home from Germany will be slightly more fruitful than his illegal visit to the United States in 2012, for which he was later sentenced to prison. Accompanying Lennon on his Birmingham stroll were Paul Weston and Ann Marie Waters, two individuals he had initially tried to shake off after the furore about their joint, and later, abandoned plans to exhibit Mohammed cartoons in the UK.

Waters and Weston had quickly gained reputations for turning up and ranting at just about any anti-Islam event. Weston had even ranted at the original launch of Pegida while Waters had earlier joined a few hundred football

hooligans in Dudley last year to deliver another, thankfully ignored, rant against Islam.

Keeping company with the pair appears to pain Lennon – they are hardly the dynamic, loutish beer-swilling company of yesteryear – even if both do enjoy a tipples. Hundreds of pounds were shelled out on new placards and banners for the big event in Birmingham.

In the Irish capital, Dublin, meanwhile where Lennon's co-haters were simultaneously being chased off the streets by anti-fascists, there was already outrage that Pegida UK had draped a Union Flag over a map of their emerald Ireland.

And, if that and the weather were not enough to test Lennon, Channel Four television took an aggrieved academic to confront him on the walk over what appears to be his growing racist rhetoric.

Responding, Lennon wobbled and blustered his way through a proper old-fashioned doorstep

confrontation suggesting that there would be no rape, murder or terrorism in Britain had Muslims never been allowed to enter the country.

The EDL's current leadership had remained silent on the whole issue of its founder and former leader parading his latest fad around a car park in the Midlands.

Most of those on Lennon's walk had some kind of tie to the EDL, from the group's other former leader Steve Eddowes, who led the stewarding and security team, through to Roger Firth, the south London criminal who used to steward for Lennon in the good old days.

There were plenty of familiar and old faces, but nowhere near the sort of number of people Lennon had hoped to drag out from hibernation or alcoholic torpor.

The real controversy that followed was not about anything that Lennon, Waters or even Paul Weston said at the rally. There had





(left) Waters and Weston
(right) Stephen Lennon

been some muttering and disquiet about the posters and placards backing US presidential hopeful Donald Trump but, as Weston explained, he was hoping someone somewhere would see them and pay his airfare to North America. Another reason Lennon tires of his company, no doubt.

Indeed, as Lennon extolled the virtues of walking unheard and unseen for the foreseeable future back to a succession of wastelands under airport flight paths, the flag of Pakistan fluttered above him – one he had planted there himself.

It drew a bewildered and baffled silence from the small crowd and only the sounds of flashing cameras, camera-phones and the tap-tap-tap of people texting their confusion to friends elsewhere could be heard.

And slowly, as social media updated itself and the old laborious network of stumbling, fumbling and mumbling Counter-Jihadists

and race-haters collided on line, Lennon's future plans began to take a nosedive.

Even if an ex-Muslim was now speaking, extolling the virtues of Enoch Powell's infamous "Rivers of Blood" speech, Lennon himself seemed visibly irritated that so few in the crowd appreciated he was making an effort to (incorrectly) portray Pakistan as some kind of secular state with an Islam problem of its own.

Muslims as he often says, not being the problem, but Islam being so. How did Pakistan fit into this? Where was the common sense in it?

Lennon fled Birmingham in hurry, citing problems at home, and did not join the traditional far right binge drinking session that followed, itself, by all accounts, a rather dull affair.

By the time Pegida UK fans were back at their computers, both the Irish flag row and the Pakistan flag row had erupted in earnest. Pegida claimed that the Pakistan flag was to

show that Mohammed, its ex-Muslim speaker, was not, and neither was Pegida, racist. The problem was, for many who apparently googled it, that the green in the flag stands for Islam and, more worryingly, Mohammed was actually born in the UK.

In an environment where flag waving is paramount if not central to any cause, the EDL's new spokesman Ian Crossland is a bit quicker and harder than most on the issue.

With more than most to lose from a rejuvenated Stephen Lennon, the EDL leadership attacked Lennon, Waters and Weston. Writing on Facebook, Crossland described the flying of the flag as a slap in the face to those who had been targeted by grooming gangs. "They [the grooming gangs] were not asian (sic) but predominantly pakistani (sic) muslims (sic)," he wrote.

Others joined in, even those that were in Birmingham to support Lennon. And,

although Pegida came out fighting on the issue, it found itself so overawed it decided just to ban dissenters from its social media. Those German-imitating, silent walkers that Lennon dreamt of flocking to him simply do not exist in the working class pubs and homes of the English he so wants to convert.

The more pressing and immediate effect of the day's fiasco was a decision by the violent EDL splinter group, the Infidels, and Crossland to open negotiations about cooperation. Both groups, formerly sworn enemies, could do with a spike in numbers on their activities and both have identified confrontation with anti-fascists as one way of building or, at least, solidifying their support.

The Infidels gleefully issued an internet graphic of Lennon in front of the flag, stating that they would never fly a Pakistani or Israeli flag but would "burn them, not fly them."

British 'Counter-Jihad' Activists Cross Atlantic



Paul Weston, leader of the anti-Muslim LibertyGB party and a leading figure in PegidaUK, recently crossed the Atlantic for a speaking tour of the US and Canada where he was hosted by leading anti-Muslim hate groups and activists.

Trailing behind was Jack Buckby, a former BNP member turned press officer for both PegidaUK and LibertyGB.

Joe Mulhall reports.

CPAC 2016

On 3 March, Weston addressed the 2016 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), the USA's largest annual conservative gathering. Weston spoke in a panel discussion, titled "Countering the Global Jihad", alongside prominent Danish anti-Muslim activist Lars Hedegaard.

Hedegaard is the founder of the International Free Press Society (IFPS), one of the most important international "Counter-Jihad" networks and has championed the cause of Dutch extremist Geert Wilders. He is also co-editor of *Dispatch International*, an online paper he established together with the Swedish Islamophobe Ingrid Carlqvist, recently spotted enjoying drinks with Weston and ex-English Defence League boss Stephen Lennon in Copenhagen.

At CPAC, Weston repeated the old "Counter-Jihadist" claim of an impending violent cultural clash saying: "I think we probably we [*sic*] are going to be looking at civil war scenario in the same way that Yugoslavia broke up in the 1990s and the civil war in Lebanon in the 1970s."

Hedegaard agreed, stating apocalyptically that shifting European demographics "will end in breakdown, this will end in warfare, this will end in bloodshed".

The panel was sponsored by the little respected Centre for Security Policy (CSP), a "think-tank" run by Frank Gaffney, that has recently been designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC).

Gaffney is a prominent American "Counter-Jihadist" who hit headlines recently because of his supposedly



Paul Weston and Jack Buckby with Pamela Geller

(above) Paul Weston speaking at the 2016 Conservative Political Action Conference

(left) Paul Weston and Jack Buckby with Brigitte Gabriel

strong influence on Donald Trump's openly racist comments about Muslims.

When Trump alleged that 25% of Muslims polled agreed that violence against America was justified as part of global Jihad, and that 51% said Muslims in America should have the chance to be governed by *Sharia*, he was quoting Gaffney's discredited research.

Likewise, Trump's comments about Muslims creating no-go zones in the US and the UK appear to have originated from Gaffney who has also been criticised as the figure behind the idea of state and federal anti-*Sharia* laws.

Gaffney's *raison d'être* is promoting the notion that the Muslim Brotherhood has infiltrated its way into the American political sphere. He has also written about the 'Jihadist vote' in America and even raised questions about President Obama's birth.

At CPAC, Gaffney's colleague Jim Hanson, vice president of the CSMR, made reference to the mendacious rumours about Obama's religion – many "Counter-Jihad" activists believe he is a Muslim – stating of Obama: "He's not a Muslim, I don't believe, but he aligns with that worldview far too much." Before the conference both Buckby and Weston met Hanson to discuss co-operation.

Interestingly, sharing a platform with Hanson was Ayaan Hirsi Ali, described by the SPLC as a "very vocal anti-Muslim activist". Hirsi Ali was recently in the UK where she spoke at an "In Conversation" event with Maajid Nawaz from the Quilliam Foundation.

Weston at ACT! for America

After CPAC Weston and Buckby headed off on their speaking tour. On 7 March,

Weston spoke at a closed event in New York followed by another engagement there on 8 March organised by ACT! For America.

ACT! for America – a single-issue, grassroots, national security campaigning organisation – is one of the USA's most pernicious "Counter-Jihadist" groups. It is run by Brigitte Gabriel who, at a 2004 "concert against terrorism" at Duke University, branded Arabs "barbarians".

Also, during a 2007 lecture to the Defense Department's Joint Forces Staff College, she argued that a practising Muslim "cannot be a loyal citizen to [sic] the United States of America".

Gabriel's anti-Muslim rhetoric is extremely conspiratorial. For example she told *The New York Times*: "America has been infiltrated on all levels by radicals who wish to harm America. They have infiltrated us at the CIA, at the FBI, at the Pentagon, at the State Department." Repeating this hysterical message on the ACT! Website, she wrote: "Tens of thousands of Islamic militants now reside in America, operating in sleeper cells, attending our colleges and universities. ... They are here – today."

Both Weston and Buckby met with Gabriel with whom they had a "constructive meeting" as part of a series of encounters with America's leading anti-Muslim activists on their tour.

They also went for drinks with perhaps the US' leading "Counter-Jihad" activist, Pamela Geller, who founded the hate groups the American Freedom Defense Initiative and Stop the Islamization of Nations (SION) with Robert Spencer.

Geller is so extreme she was banned from attending this year's CPAC

conference, despite its willingness to host characters like Gaffney and Hedegaard, and was, of course, barred from entering the UK in 2013 as being "not conducive to the public good".

Why prominent American activists like Gaffney, Geller and Gabriel are so keen to meet Weston and Buckby, who are nonentities in Britain, remains something of a mystery.

Canada

After speaking at the ACT! event in New York, Weston headed north of the border to speak at an ACT! for Canada event in Montreal on 9 March. However, things did not go to plan with the hotel venue cancelling the event when it found out the nature of the event. Some 90 counter-demonstrators also turned up to voice opposition to Weston's presence.

This was followed by an event in Toronto titled "The Threat of Radical Islamic Immigration and the Erosion of our Freedoms" organised by the far right Jewish Defence League, the Canadian branch of the Jewish Defense League (JDL), established in 1968 and subsequently described by the FBI as a "violent extremist" organisation.

The JDL has in the past organised a solidarity rally for Geert Wilders, hosted Stephen Lennon via Skype and, in December 2015, hosted Robert Spencer who was banned from Britain for his views.

The duo's North American junket concluded in Tennessee on the 14 March and this short run of events indicates again that while Weston has minimal influence in Britain, he remains a well-known and influential player on the international "Counter-Jihad" scene. ●

Must Sweden plunge

Rebecca Murray, Director of the Article 26 project and a doctoral candidate at the University of Sheffield, gives a personal insight from Stockholm on the background to the shock announcement that as many as 60,000 asylum-seekers might now face expulsion

LAST SUMMER, international headlines were dominated by stories of European Union countries not only welcoming refugees but actively encouraging them to make their borders the final crossing *en route* to safety.

Fast forward to 2016 and it is already a different story. If one believes the headlines, these countries – Germany, in particular – have made a big mistake and new arrivals have brought with them seemingly insurmountable problems.

Sweden has responded to these challenges by closing its borders and making a decision to deport at least 60,000 people whose claims for refugee status have been deemed unsuccessful. The new “no longer welcome here” message was reinforced, at the end of January, by brutal images of Swedish fascists violently attacking refugees gathered at Stockholm Central Station.

6 April 2015 was the first time I ever set foot in Sweden. I went with the explicit intention of exploring what the refugee situation looked like in reality, from the Swedish and the refugee perspectives. I should add that I was able to take with

me 15 years experience of the refugee situation in the UK which comes in handy for making comparisons.

I chose Sweden because of its commitment to social democracy, a commitment that makes the country stand out not only in Scandinavia, but in Europe and elsewhere around the world.

The reality

The refugees I met in Sweden were nearly all granted refugee status in a relatively short period of time (12 months or less). The UK pales in comparison in terms of the long and often tortuous process that asylum-seekers endure.

I have not yet met anyone whose asylum claim has been rejected, yet I know that Sweden has a policy and processes in place to remove those refused refugee status. I don't think the issues revolve around which ‘plane’ to use, but if 90% of people are coming from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, it certainly won't be easy to remove them to these countries.

What about the appeals process? Have those 60,000 people already exhausted their legal rights in Sweden to



appeal against deportation? How do they prove that deportees are citizens of these countries, in order that they can actually be accepted back? And how do you deport people to Syria?

Perhaps this is why the deportations are being spread over several years and the Swedish government believes that the situation in Syria is due to change radically.

And, what happens to those people left in limbo in Sweden waiting to be deported? In my experience, people build lives against the odds, even in the most hostile environments. Most seem

determined to integrate into Swedish society, using their skills and experience to earn money, pay taxes, support themselves and their families and ultimately live in peace.

Having fought to get this far, many refugees live in a perpetual fight for survival. I'd put money on them fighting to stay and don't envy the tough fight facing the Swedish authorities.

Not so long ago, the story was about fascists attacking refugees in Stockholm's central station. Only three months ago, I stood there, deeply moved by refugees being welcomed by the Red

downhill?



Syria sleep outside the Swedish Migration Board in Marsta, outside Stockholm, Sweden.

Cross and the Migration Board, and receiving emergency medical care – all things which sent the powerful message to the new arrivals: “you matter and we’re here to help you”.

Far North of Stockholm on the same trip, I met Swedes who were working during the day and spending their nights in soup kitchens to feed newly arrived refugees. Swedish people took their children to the local train station to greet newly-arrived children with gifts of toys and warm clothes.

Yet the surge in popularity for the far right Sweden Democrats cannot be

denied and it causes serious concern to Swedish people and refugees alike. I’ve had detailed discussions about fears for the Swedish welfare state and the country’s ability to sustain the new arrivals. “We can’t pay 100% tax” has been conveyed to me on more than one occasion, along with concerns that there are not enough low-skilled, low-paid employment opportunities to meet the needs of the refugees entering Sweden.

The stark reality, however, is that a large number of refugees entering Sweden are not only highly skilled but highly aspirational, too.

They want to work, to use their skills in Sweden, to contribute to the economy by paying tax and paying their way, leave the trauma and horrors they fled behind them to build a new life in safety. The problem in Sweden is bridging the gap between the aspirations and skills of refugees and their access and inclusion in mainstream society.

Refugees are perceived to bring problems and it is true that some do. But what

happens if we dig a little deeper and explore what else they bring: education, skills, knowledge, resilience and aspirations? What if these assets were put to good use and refugees were able to fulfil their aspirations in a new society?

If it’s possible anywhere, it is in Sweden. I’m just hope recent stories can be superseded by new headlines focusing on the attributes and achievements of the new population. ●

■ REBECCA MURRAY is Director of the Article 26 project and a doctoral candidate at the University of Sheffield

The night that changed everything

By Jens Breuer and Toni Brandes for *Der Rechte Rand*

NEW YEAR'S EVE'S disgusting mass sexual assault rampage in Cologne was a German and, even, international political game changer.

Of course, there were already a lot of people, in Germany and across the European Union, who rejected the idea of accommodating refugees but, until that night's appalling events, gestures of solidarity and support greatly predominated. That was

not the result of naïvety but because of critical assessment of recent German history.

More than 20 years before, it should not be forgotten, refugee shelters and immigrant housing, as in Mölln and Solingen, had been set ablaze on a large scale with pogroms in Rostock and Hoyerswerda all becoming symbols of a new and virulent German racism.

Pictures of Germans holding up "Welcome" banners for the refugees arriving at Munich's railway

station last summer should not, therefore lead, to one-sided conclusions.

In fact, the mood, among supporters of the right in the country, had already been simmering for some time. For over a year, the racist mob that calls itself PEGIDA had been taking its protests to the streets of Dresden and attempting – without success – to do so in other places.

In numerous small towns where it was planned to accommodate refugees, nazis, sometimes with local

support, had been attempting to inflame the situation and incite violence.

The Bundeskriminal Amt (Germany's central CID) counted at least 1,027 attacks – including arson, property damage, racist propaganda and incitement – on buildings housing refugees in 2015 and attributed at least 733 of them to persons with far right motivations.

The mood in the country, nevertheless, still did not tip. Federal chancellor Angela Merkel's famous sentence



"Wir schaffen das" ("We will manage that") was a sign of a solid confidence, built out of past challenges, that Germany could indeed "manage" the refugee crisis.

In the years after WWII, both German states managed to integrate around 12 million so-called *Ostflüchtlinge* ("Eastern-Refugees") fleeing from former (pre-war) German territories. In the 1960s and 1970s, several million economic migrants and their families joined German society to push forward the "economic miracle". And finally, some 2.5 million ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union came to Germany in the years between 1990 and 2011. In general, integration worked, even allowing for occasional frictions.

In this context, the events of New Year's Eve were unimaginable and the political consequences of what happened at and in the main Cologne railway station were simply not to have been.

The police were unable to deal with the situation in

which several hundred men were gathered there, many drunk. Women anywhere near were targeted, becoming victims of robbery, sexual harassment, groping and rape. The number of refugees or people with a migrant background among the offenders remains unclear.

The fact is that police on scene did register the attacks going on inside the seething crowd of men and did not call for support at the time. Instead, they tried to "control" the situation – as they saw it rather inaccurately – on their own.

Only when reports of what had happened began to accumulate and emerge, the police realised that something unusual had happened. The first press reports, however, took several hours to appear. Whether this was a case of "news management" gone badly wrong remains to be seen.

Apart from that, the press was fixated on the terror warnings issued in Munich on New Year's Eve. Eventually, on 2 January, police in Cologne announced there had been some 30 victims, a figure that rapidly grew to almost 1,000 victims of robbery, sexual harassment, sexual assault and rape, figures that are still growing. Meanwhile, in social networks, there was outrage that the police did not publish the ethnic background of the alleged perpetrators.

That is, in fact, common practice in Germany – where defendants' full names cannot even be published – but, in this case, suspicion mounted that the police was trying to cover up the real background to what happened.

Allegations against the press, too, surfaced with suspicions there must have been some lying because official news agencies failed to report what all the Facebook user milieu claimed to know already: the offenders were refugees.

The press finally reacted and put pressure on the police to provide the public with information about the suspects who were mainly

from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, according to the police.

Meanwhile, public debate has been dominated more by rumour and speculation and less by facts. By the end of January, only thirty suspects – of whom the majority have a migrant background – were identified. Politically, though, the incidents in Cologne have become a turning point.

The atmosphere in some regions, mainly rural areas in Germany peaked in 2015 with the continuing arrival of refugees. Quickly established first admission accommodation sites rapidly became a point of contention with local populations. Their arguments? The refugees would bring diseases, spread criminal activity and some of them were even potential Jihadists.

After Cologne a radicalisation has followed. "Our women and children are threatened" goes the popular mantra and Cologne has, supposedly, undeniably proven that.

In the shady world of social networking, dark fears of the "black man" are being fuelled with literally endless stories about sexual harassment – some true, some fabricated – by people lacking white skin, blue eyes and blond hair.

Not only those who reject the need to shelter refugees seem to fall into mass psychosis but also those who previously had an indifferent attitude towards these issues.

Enlightened press coverage, transparent police communications and balanced opinion from politicians – at community, regional and federal government level – are all now under deep public suspicion.

The tale goes that "they" are not telling us the truth and the floodgates to conspiracy theories and rumour are opened. Escape from this populist trap will probably only be achieved by rebuilding trust between institutions and those citizens still open to argument.

It will not be easy. Directly after the Cologne events,

vigilante groups were established in some cities, frequently with the direct involvement of nazis. On Facebook, these vigilante groups notch up an alarming amount of encouragement and "likes" but when they actually go on "patrol" the numbers of the activists are, thankfully, very small.

Even PEGIDA experienced an upswing, its North Rhine-Westphalia branch organising a demonstration in the centre of Cologne on 14 January with 1,500 participants... mainly right-wing hooligans. Anti-fascist protests on the day were larger and made clear that sexism is not a problem of skin colour.

More problematic, however, is that the events of Cologne have become a political football between the federal government and its Christian Social Union (CSU) coalition partner in Bavaria.

Every day, the CSU and its chairman, Horst Seehofer, come up with new proposals to make asylum rights more restrictive. Denmark appears to be their role model.

The CSU's populism only assists the rising approval ratings for the even more right-wing "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) which at the end of January was getting 12.5% in the polls.

In recent months, the tone of its politicians has radicalised significantly. In an interview with the daily *Mannheimer Morgen* in late January, AfD chairwoman Frauke Petry outlined her solutions to the refugee crisis. Germany's borders, she declared, should be "secured" and the border police must, facing illegal immigration, if necessary make use of their firearms.

That provoked an outcry in the liberal press, because Petry's idea reminded many commentators of the old inner-German border. But again, in the festering social networks, Petry received massive approval.

After Cologne, seemingly anything is possible in Germany. The dam seems to have broken. ●



New government beds in with tough policies

From Martin Barić in Zagreb

ON 8 NOVEMBER 2015, Croatia held its parliamentary elections to be followed by two months of negotiations to establish a nationalist-conservative coalition – between the Croatian Democratic Union and the independent list “Most” – subsequently approved on 22 January.

It was not long after these admirers of Viktor Orbán in neighbouring Hungary were let loose before they targeted the media with open threats to the Electronic Media Council, the public broadcaster Croatian Radio-Television, and by revoking Ministry of Culture's non-profit media expert commission as part of their own “cultural revolution”. The main plan behind this appears to be not only to silence any progressive or oppositional voices by starving them of funds but also to capture public consciousness through a combination of institutional measures and strong-arm tactics.

Ideological figure in an ‘expert’ government

Although the Croatian Pure Party of Rights – the foremost Croatian party with overt sympathies for the wartime Nazi puppet state, the so-called Independent State of Croatia – did not make it into parliament, it got something even better: a ministerial post.

The new minister of culture, Dr. Zlatko Hasanbegović, had been prominent in the Croatian Pure Party of Rights since the second half of the 1990s, only leaving it in 2015 to join the conservative Croatian Democratic Union and run for parliament on one of its lists (he was not elected). There are, however, allegations that he was previously affiliated with even more radical groups.

Hasanbegović is an historian and an overt historical revisionist, having stated frequently in public appearances that anti-fascism is “empty words” and, falsely, is nowhere to be found in Croatia's Constitution. Calling himself anti-totalitarian and anti-Communist, he reduces Croatian anti-fascism to a smokescreen for violence by the Yugoslav Socialist regime.

He is a leading member of the Honorary Bleiburg Guard – an organisation commemorating the alleged WWII victims of the Communists. This outfit often exhibits Nazi collaborationist insignia. In the past, he has also expressed sympathy for the

mostly-Muslim Waffen SS *Handschar* division that was active during WWII in territory that is present-day Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and has relativised the role of the WWII Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in endorsing the Holocaust.

Since his elevation to ministerial office, however, his previous media appearances are currently being whitewashed and evidence of these statements removed from various websites.

Hasanbegović was a prominent spokesman of the 2013 referendum campaign to introduce a heteronormative definition of marriage into the Croatian Constitution and has publicly expressed contempt for what he calls “the ideology of human rights”.

Although it has been claimed that Hasanbegović is strictly a political appointee and a complete outsider to the domain of culture, he has dealt with cultural production in the past, having published five books on politics in Croatian. At least one of these is popular in nazi circles.

Hasanbegović has announced, in true corporatist-style, that he will work on “a new cultural paradigm that will put an end to ideological conflicts and integrate the nation”. His first moves as culture minister have included dismantling funding for non-profit media, most of which are openly supportive of democratisation and human and minority rights, dismissing the board of a foundation for funding cultural projects and deposing a public museum director who has hosted anti-fascist exhibitions.

A broad front of cultural workers is organising against him and calls to dismiss him have already come from the Simon Wiesenthal Centre with a positive government response unlikely.

A non-peaceful protest

Running parallel with Hasanbegović's appointment, a large rally with pro-fascist aspects took place in Zagreb.

Everything began when Marko Jurić, host at Z1 – a local TV station broadcast from Zagreb – ended his 19 January show with a warning to “*the people of Zagreb, if you should be taking your children for a walk near [a square in the centre of town], be careful because the nearby Četnik vicars might commit an act of bloodshed*”.

The “Četnik” reference was defended

as a satirical one aimed at the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Croatia, but was condemned as hate speech nonetheless by the Council for Electronic Media – the main regulatory body – with a unanimously voted suspension of Z1's broadcasting licence for three days. Criminal charges were filed against Jurić.

The result was a big 5,000-strong rally, allegedly made up of veterans' associations in Zagreb on 26 January calling for “freedom of speech”. The rally, fronted by prominent extreme-right media figures but also the Croatian parliament's deputy speaker, Ivan Tepeš, was replete with Nazi salutes and calls for the dismissal of the Council for Electronic Media. The rally arrived at the seat of the Council to pile on the pressure on the regulator.

No head of any state body has made any statement about the 26 January protest since the organisers of the rally were and will continue to be endorsed by the new government that may well have political use for the threat of violence in the streets.

Backlash against civil society

Civil society, comprised also of non-profit and independent media, is now threatened as voices in Parliament speak of its uselessness and call into question the axis of Civil Society Organisation (CSO) support in Croatia: the Governmental Office for CSOs, the National Foundation for Civil Society Development and the Council for Civil Society Development – three important mechanisms that CSOs fought over a decade to establish in order to determine transparent criteria for cooperation among state institutions and CSOs and among others things to formulate grant-making procedures.

At the moment, these bodies are the starting point for the government's assaults on civil society, ideological differences being re-wrapped as a financial argument that CSOs spend too much state money that can be poured into “other” important causes. This rhetoric is vivid in the memory of Croatian activists from similar cases in neighbouring Hungary in 2014.

The question are whether the new Croatian new government is learning the drill to silence the voices of opposition from its neighbours and how far it will go in copying them? ●

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'Suffer Little Children'



The terrible toll of everyday racism against Europe's Roma. From *Bernard Rorke* in Budapest

THE DEATHS of five small Romani children this January in settlements in Slovakia went largely unremarked and unreported in the European media. One child froze to death, the others died in fires, the latest victims of two decades of discriminatory neglect in housing policies in Slovakia. Five preventable deaths, on top of years of forced evictions and demolitions in all weathers, make a mockery of all of the Euro-blatther about Roma inclusion.

In Italy, Romani children still remain victims of a state of emergency long suspended and ruled illegitimate by the courts and still subsist in horrid squalor, isolated in segregated camps across the country. The Court of Rome, in a ruling of 30 May 2015 concerning La Barbuta camp, established that Roma-only housing maintained by municipalities violates the European Union's Race Equality Directive.

The human cost of such apartheid, European Union (EU)-style, was revealed in a European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) submission to the Human Rights Council in 2014. The report found that children raised in these camps – often under guard or video surveillance – are prone to a number of severely debilitating conditions, are more frequently born underweight and suffer more from respiratory disease than their Italian peers.

They also suffer more often from poisoning, burns and accidents. There is a greater incidence of the "diseases of poverty", such as tuberculosis, scabies, and lice. These children exhibit high incidences of anxiety and sleep disorders, suffer from phobias, are hyperactive and have learning difficulties, conditions that "are also predictive of more serious

disorders in adolescence and adulthood."

And, as it was in 2015, so it seems it will be in 2016, with imminent threats of forced evictions hanging over hundreds of Roma in Italy and authorised – and unauthorised – camps scheduled to be demolished without adequate provision for alternative accommodation for vulnerable families.

The gap between the rhetoric contained in the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child and the realities on the ground is nothing short of obscene when things are even getting worse for many Romani children across the member states of the EU.

That these democratic states have failed so spectacularly in their obligations, that children's rights are so routinely and egregiously abused is such an affront that should inspire outrage and indignation among all right-minded citizens.

But somehow it doesn't. Why is it that masses of upright solid burghers simply don't give a damn? How do we explain the wider public ambivalence, the complete indifference concerning the fates of these children? Perhaps the most disturbing images, grimly emblematic of that indifference, were the photographs of the bodies of two drowned teenage Romani girls, covered by towels on an Italian beach, surrounded by sunbathers stretched out and completely unperturbed.

23 February marked the seventh anniversary of the murder of five-year-old Robika Csorba and his father, shot by nazi snipers as they fled their firebombed house in Tatárszentgyörgy in Hungary. They were victims of a terror campaign targeting Romani settlements that claimed the lives of six and maimed many others, including 13-year-

old Ketrin Balogh, who was gravely wounded, and her mother Maria shot dead as they slept in their beds in the village of Kisléta.

Following the arrests of the perpetrators in 2009, Hungary's then Prime Minister, Gordon Bajnai spoke about the lack of basic social solidarity among citizens and their abject failure to speak out against the violent racists in their midst. Bajnai cited the gun shop owner who told police he had not sold the type of ammunition used in the attacks but that had he known for what the ammunition was intended, he would have given it away for free.

Bajnai highlighted something that is even more corrosive for our democracies than the words and deeds of a few active psychotic racists: the almost blissful indifference of the many. Beyond the atrocities, it is the everyday racism, the routine segregation in schools, towns and villages, the policies that push Roma beyond the city limits, out of sight and out of mind, that cultivate indifference to their privations and suffering.

Any fleeting unease or twinge of the good citizen's Christian-national conscience is quickly dispelled by mainstream political leaders and holders of public office who regularly "diss" the Roma as the inherently criminal and the permanently burdensome undeserving poor.

When the abuse of Romani children goes unpunished and a judge disallows video evidence and acquits ten Slovak policemen charged with torturing Romani children at a police station, this sends a brutal message to the wider society about what is permissible when it comes to Romani kids.

When the Slovak Prime Minister dismisses

EU criticism of school segregation and can claim that "One of the reasons why there is higher occurrence of genetically determined disorders is that Slovak Roma have the highest coefficient of interbreeding in Europe," a racist rationale takes deep root in the public consciousness and ordinary everyday people simply acquiesce as hearts harden to the suffering of the youngest and most vulnerable of Europe's citizens.

This acquiescence forges a callous "common sense" or "conventional wisdom" that can be understood as the embedded, incoherent and spontaneous beliefs and assumptions that characterise the conformist thinking of the mass of people. When it comes to the mistreatment of Romani children, what is very specific, partial and profoundly racist becomes naturalised and accepted to the point of being taken for granted in a view of the world as simply being "the way things are." The poorest and most excluded Romani children continue to pay an awful price for this acquiescence.

It is going to take a lot more than civil society projects and paper integration policies to forge a new common sense – a counter-conventional wisdom – that disrupts "the way things are."

The struggle against everyday racism and its consequences needs to be stepped up if the loss of more young lives is to be prevented. Broad-based political action is needed to bring an end to the suffering endured by tens of thousands of Romani children in shacks, squats, and camps, vulnerable to the elements, exposed to random cruelties and deliberate discrimination right across the well-ordered democracies that comprise this continent of plenty.

THE DAY AFTER

Nick Lowles reports on how the low key 2016 election campaign is simply the lull before the storm.

IT ALMOST SEEMS as though this is the election that isn't. Despite there being local elections, London and Welsh Assembly elections, mayoral elections, Scottish parliament elections and Police and Crime Commissioner elections, one could be forgiven in thinking there were no elections next month.

Maybe it is because May's elections are being overshadowed by the EU Referendum, the low key campaigning from the main parties or simply a lack of high profile candidates but the elections appear to be fast approaching with very little media or public interest.

And yet, there is a lot at stake. While the traditional far right organisations are standing fewer candidates than at any time for 16 years, the anti-immigrant UKIP could become the largest party on Thurrock council, the official opposition on several others and hold the balance of power in the Welsh Assembly.

There are 1,579 candidates from radical and populist right-wing parties standing in May's local, mayoral, Welsh Assembly and Scottish Parliamentary elections, all but 77 representing UKIP.

There are 29 candidates from the English nationalist party the English Democrats, of which 13 are standing

The BNP is fielding 19 candidates, though 10 of these are for the London Assembly list and one is for London Mayor. All 11 of Britain First's candidates are standing in London, again 10 for the Assembly top-up and another for Mayor.

There is a spattering of more hardline parties: the National Front is standing nine

candidates around the UK, British Resistance, led by Jack Sen, is standing four and the National Democrats just one.

With the far right largely irrelevant, the main threat is coming from UKIP, with the anti-immigrant party hoping to win 200 council seats across the country.

Thurrock, where it could become the largest single party on the council, is UKIP's prime target. It is also hoping to come in a strong second in Rotherham and Great Yarmouth.

In Rotherham, where all-out elections are happening as a result of the overhaul of the council following child sexual exploitation scandals, UKIP is standing 39 candidates out of a possible 60. It is enough to win control of the council though this is highly unlikely and so it will be realistically hoping to build on the twelve it had on the council previously.

It could also potentially become the largest party on Great Yarmouth council, given that several of the seven seats Labour is defending already have UKIP councillors.

Its biggest prize, however, could be Wales, where polling puts UKIP on course to win up to ten places seats in the Welsh Assembly and so hold the balance of power.

UKIP has been making strong inroads into working class communities across South Wales for several years, though in choosing the disgraced Neil Hamilton and former Tory MP Mark Reckless as its lead candidates it is clear the party's commitment to social justice is a con.

This is a point HOPE not hate made abundantly clear when it

launched its own Welsh Assembly campaign with the help of a mobile ad van.

UKIP should have been pushing hard in several other Essex councils but infighting and defections have dramatically reduced its representation on Castle Point, Tendering and Basildon councils.

Despite this, UKIP still boasts that it is set to win hundreds of new council seats. Whether it will achieve this is uncertain – and probably unlikely – but then no one quite knows how the Referendum debate will translate into local politics.

If it does then it will not be because of the campaign UKIP has run. Except for a handful of places, UKIP hardly seems to have been doing anything on the ground. In fact, so inactive have some UKIP branches been that HOPE not hate has scaled down some of its own campaigning so as not to promote the anti-immigrant party inadvertently.

UKIP's leader Nigel Farage, like his key backer Aaron Banks, has been distracted by the EU Referendum and this has left little room for local campaigning. The party has received little media attention – essential for a largely inactive protest party – and Farage himself has been usurped by the official Brexit leaders, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove.

Complicating the problem further, was a further bout of internal UKIP infighting, culminating in the suspension of its deputy Chairwoman Suzanne Evans for "disloyalty".

Evans, a longtime critic of Farage, was subjected to

With the far right largely irrelevant, the main threat will come from UKIP





disciplinary action for speaking out against a UKIP candidate and for presenting herself as a party spokeswoman without authority.

It was not, of course, meant to be like this. Farage and Banks had hoped that by now its Leave.EU and Grassroots Out groups would be heading the Leave campaign. With millions of pounds to spend, the local elections would have been a springboard for the Referendum and then beyond.

And it is this beyond that is perhaps of most significance. If UKIP is just going through the motions in these local elections, it is because it is increasingly focused on what happens after the Referendum.

While there are some who believe UKIP's *raison d'être* disappears after the Referendum vote, others, including the current party leader, want UKIP to morph into a more traditional right wing populist party.

The Times recently reported that UKIP was set for a radical overhaul after the Referendum in a bid to become a mass online movement. There is logic in this. Farage has been a long time admirer of

HOPE not hate launched its Welsh Assembly campaign in Cardiff, with a hard-hitting ad-van exposing the UKIP con.

Beppo Grillo's Five Star movement in Italy and, more recently, the Dutch satirical *GeenStijl* website that forced a referendum in the Netherlands this month on a trade deal between the EU and Ukraine.

While publicly claiming that this move would simply reflect the changing relationship between a party and people and allow UKIP to reach a younger audience, it would also have the added bonus of diluting the opportunities for internal critics to plot against Farage.

One leading UKIP member told *The Times*: "To adopt the direct democracy approach with members being able to vote on policies and ideas online would take away the need to have a national executive committee and a political structure."

All very convenient for Farage.

But it is what Aaron Banks decides to do that will be actually more important. Banks, who is the main financier of UKIP and is believed to be worth over £100m, runs Leave.EU and so owns its data.

He recently brought in the Cambridge-based social analytics team – that has been working on

the Ted Cruz campaign in the US – to help convert Leave.EU's almost 700,000 followers on Facebook into more active followers.

A source close to Banks told Matthew Goodwin, Politics professor at the University of Kent: "UKIP needs to rebrand itself and change after the referendum. There is a huge opportunity coming. You could have that SNP effect where you lose the battle but win the war. I am keen to look at how we can reposition UKIP to take full advantage of that."

Banks looks enviously across the channel at the rise in popularity of Marine Le Pen and believes that conditions will exist after the referendum for UKIP to attract 20-25% of the British vote, rather than the 10-14% it currently polls.

Writing on the *Politico* blogsite, Goodwin said: "Regardless of the referendum result British society is dominated by intense public angst over national identity and borders. Cultural anxieties now trump economics, a reality underscored daily by new public fears over the role of Turkey and Islam in Europe, the refugee crisis and national security."

A more acceptable UKIP could potentially break out of its support from hardliners mostly strongly opposed to immigration into a bigger audience of those who are driven by cultural concerns. As is shown in our own *Fear and HOPE* report, this could almost double UKIP's potential audience.

At present, Banks remains loyal to Farage, though how long this will last if a revamped UKIP does not widen its appeal remains to be seen. Banks' pollsters have already told Farage to his face that the single biggest obstacle to UKIP's expansion is Farage himself.

Next month's local elections might be overshadowed by June's Referendum, but it is the immediate aftermath that will be of most interest. Can UKIP do to Labour in the north of England what the SNP did in Scotland?

Goodwin certainly thinks this is a possibility: "I think it's about bracing for a possible scenario where you have Remain with 55 per cent of the vote but a 45 per cent Leave vote that is angry over immigration, angry with the established parties and unhappy with Britain's EU relationship and that is going to be looking for an alternative political home."

Birmingham unites a

John Page reports on how Birmingham responded to Pegida by uniting to build a lasting coalition

It was shortly before Christmas that Stephen Lennon, alias Tommy Robinson, announced that Pegida, his new organisation, would march in Birmingham in early February.

The city was chosen, he claimed, because it was supposedly the centre of terrorism in the UK though the decision probably owed more to the fact that the West Midlands-based English Defence League (EDL) security team were loyal to him and would protect the event.

Whatever the true reason, Pegida's presence was a direct threat to local Muslim communities. However, rather than being intimidated, opponents of Pegida used the threat to build a powerful coalition in Birmingham that resulted in far more attending its unity event than attended the Pegida's car park washout.

So how did we do it?

We started with a simple analysis, looking at what Pegida was seeking to achieve and how we could ensure that they failed in their objective?

Pegida hoped to grab international headlines by creating conflict and then recruiting on the basis of the very same disturbances that they had provoked.

A previous EDL visit to Birmingham had resulted in rioting in the streets and large numbers of their supporters eventually going to jail. The city

certainly did not want or need a rerun.

HOPE not hate was not prepared to fall into Lennon's (not so carefully laid) trap. While there was inevitably a call for a "counter-demonstration", we were more interested in building community cohesion, grasping that Pegida's aim was to spread fear, disunity, mistrust and hatred.

As a result, we decided that we had to respond in a way that would very consciously build hope, unity, trust and respect.

In the week before Christmas, we called a small organising meeting and, even at this early meeting, it was clear that something exciting was happening.

Representatives of the local Muslim community, Birmingham Citizens (a community alliance), major trade unions, including Unite and Unison, and local

community radio were all represented bringing people together from the same city who did not know how much they had in common.

We quickly agreed that we needed to organise a unity event and decided to hold this on the Friday before the Pegida demonstration, aiming hold it at the Central Mosque.

A Twitter account was established and a contact list established. An initial Unity Statement attracted 80 key community leaders. It did not take long to get more and more groups and individuals signing up, the support of the local Bishops being particularly important.

Our message was clear: Pegida wanted to divide this great city and we were going to ensure that, come 6 February, the city was, in fact, even more united.

We drew up a list of whom we

Community
representatives unite
against Pegida



Against Pegida

If you are interested in getting involved with HOPE not hate, please contact john@hopenothate.org.uk



wanted to back our campaign, including regional secretaries of trade unions, faith leaders, artists and community leaders.

On the day itself we had three local MPs – big thanks to Liam Byrne, Jack Dromey and Andrew Mitchell. We also had representatives of the Conservative, Green, Labour and Liberal Democratic parties alongside Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist and Quaker leaders.

We were determined that the event should be fun and also an opportunity for people to build relationships across communities.

Thus, rather than have a long list of worthy speakers telling us what we already knew, we sat people around tables and each table had a facilitator and a series of questions: what did people feel was good about their community, what did they feel needed to change, how

could people work together to make that change happen?

At first we were worried that, maybe, no one would arrive but, even before the advertised start time, the room began to fill up. By the start time the place was heaving and when we asked people to sit down there were not enough chairs. Pretty soon, there were 250 people in the room, engaging in debate and discussion in small groups over issues that people cared passionately about.

Each table then fed back on its discussion and, time after time, faith leaders, trade union leaders and local politicians pledged their commitment to working across communities for the benefit of all.

There was a real sense of celebration in the room: Birmingham had chosen hope!

The next day a pathetic ragbag of racists managed to march around an empty car park on the

Standing up for HOPE

outskirts of the city. Their numbers were less than half those that attended at Birmingham Central Mosque, they received almost no publicity, and it was clear that even without the torrential rain their event was a wash out.

Pegida picked on Birmingham... and Pegida lost!


Afterword

A few weeks later, we gathered those who had organised the response. People were clear that they wanted to build on the energy and enthusiasm created, but they also made a very conscious decision: we were not going to simply repeat what had been a great success. We were going to do something much more interesting by taking the process of bringing people together into the communities that are vulnerable to Pegida's propaganda.

A steering group is now planning how to build deep engagement with communities, predominantly white communities, who have come to see Muslims as "a problem".

A powerful alliance of community, faith and trade union groups is now determined to change the mood in Birmingham from one of mistrust and suspicion to one of vibrant unity and collective cross-community action.





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